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ABSTRACT

The document presents the findings of a study that tested the feasibility of determining whether classified help wanted ads in daily newspapers were an accurate reflection of local labor markets and of significant use to employers and job seekers. San Francisco and Salt Lake City Sunday paper want ads were coded and analyzed from 1968 to 1972 and employers and users of want ads surveyed. The results indicate that, contrary to commonly held assumptions, want ads alone offer a limited and often distorted picture of local labor markets. Six chapters include: (1) Inside the "Help Wanted" Ad Maze, discussing research methods and defining terms; (2) Use of Want Ads by Employers, discussing the value of want ads to employers; (3) Usefulness of Want Ads to Job Seekers, assessing the value of want ads to job applicants; (4) Help Wanted Ads and Local Labor Markets, examining the value of want ads as a source of labor market information; (5) Composition of a Metropolitan Newspaper Want Ad Section, comparing data from the two-city study with that of a subsequent twelve-city study; (6) Implications of the Want Ad Study, presenting a summary of findings. Summarized survey responses are appended. (LH)

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HELP WANTED: CASE STUDIES OF CLASSIFIED ADS

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Foreword

This book summarizes the findings of a study conducted in San Francisco and Salt Lake City by Olympus Research Corporation under contract to the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration to test the feasibility of determining whether classified help wanted ads in daily newspapers are (1) an accurate reflection of local labor markets, and (2) of significant use to employers and job seekers.[1]

Since the study was confined to two cities at a particular point in time, it cannot be said that the findings are generalizable to all cities. However, the study did lay some important foundations for assessing the nature and composition of want ads and their value to their users. In addition to using the data based on the two-city study, other appropriate material from a subsequent study that examined classified ads in twelve cities has been included. Despite the limited nature of the study, as reported, the almost total paucity of the literature concerning this topic justifies the book's publication.

The authors have received valuable comments on the manuscript for this book from sources both within and outside the Labor Department, and they wish to express appreciation

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[1] "A Study to Test the Feasibility of Determining Whether Classified Help Wanted Ads in Daily Newspapers Are an Accurate Reflection of Local Labor Markets and of Significant Use to Employers and Job Seekers" (Salt Lake City: Olympus Research Corporation, July 31, 1973), under grant no. 21-11-73-28.

to a number of individuals who made valuable contributions to the study. Coding of want ads demands intense concentration in order to ensure accuracy. Olympus Research Corporations coders – Patricia Sollenberg, Amy Silver, Helga Bailey, and Joan Lea Walsh – performed this difficult task admirably. Jay Fantz contributed his talents as a systems analyst, offering particular assistance in computer science. Lloyd Gallardo designed the employer survey and analyzed the results. James M. Neto, the manpower analyst who heads the Northern California Employment Data and Research Section (employment service), provided invaluable assistance in developing the overall research design.

Special gratitude is due the management and staff of the Salt Lake *Tribune* and the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* whose cooperation made this study possible.

We also wish to express our appreciation to the Employment Development Department of California and the Utah Department of Employment Security for the help they provided in carrying out surveys of job seekers.

– *John Walsh*
Miriam Johnson
Marged Sugarman

1

Inside the "Help Wanted" Ad Maze

"Now that my children are all in school, I'd like to find a job. I wasn't sure exactly how to begin looking, and so I started with the want ads. Somewhere, in all those pages of jobs, I thought, has to be a job for me!"

The speaker, one of the respondents to a survey of job seekers conducted in a San Francisco local employment service office, was a forty-year-old housewife contemplating entry into the labor market. Since she had never worked before, she was uncertain as to what type of job she was qualified for and how to find it.

"I need a job where experience isn't important, because I haven't any. So, I just plow through the want ad section, looking for an ad that says 'No experience required.' Very few say this, but those that do sound like sales to me! I want to work in an office if possible, but a lot of the ads for office work say nothing about experience; so, I figure that's not really important to those employers. Sometimes when I apply to the firm, I find out differently, though!"

Whatever her difficulties in using them, she studies the help wanted ads every morning while having her breakfast coffee.

She is not alone. In thousands of American homes, this scene is repeated — the dissatisfied employee looking for alternatives, the out-of-school youth seeking a job with "potential," the student looking for part-time work, and of course the unemployed worker, somewhat more desperate than the others, looking for every genuine lead available. And no wonder! No other American labor exchange mechanism can begin to match the potential of the newspaper want ads for accessibility to the job seeker. Simply by walking to the corner and placing a coin in a vending machine or by picking the paper up off the front step, individual job seekers can acquaint themselves with a large number of job opportunities. Because of their accessibility to the job seeker, want ads are thus unmatched as a tool for employers to maximize the public exposure of their job opportunities.

But job seekers are not the only individuals who search the help wanted columns of the newspaper – their very girth attracts employment service personnel searching for potential job orders, private employment agency counselors carefully marking down the names and telephone numbers of employers who advertise in the want ads (later some employers may receive calls: "We've got just the person to fill that job you advertised in today's paper"), employers checking on what the competition is offering, school counselors attempting to get a feel for local labor markets, and labor market analysts engaging in their never-ending search for insights into local job market trends.

Periodically, some state officials issue instructions to employment service personnel to step up their job finding efforts by searching the classified help wanted ads for potential job orders. Recently, for example, the governor of one of the nation's largest states directed the employment service to find thirty thousand new job openings by ordering staff to contact newspaper want ad advertisers daily. The want ad search was described as a major part of a statewide program to find new jobs for workers who had been laid off because of the energy crisis.

This "faith" in the scope of jobs represented by the help wanted ads is not by any means new. In the early 1960s, the classified help wanted ad sections of newspapers played a major role in forging manpower policy. The underlying assumption behind early federally sponsored manpower programs was that structural imbalances in the labor market were a major cause of unemployment. According to this theory, automation and technological change had caused a decrease in the demand for unskilled workers, a displacement of workers with obsolete skills, and an increase in the demand for skilled workers in "new" occupations. The result was thousands of "square pegs" (unemployed workers) who could not fit into "round holes" (jobs). Thus a massive training and retraining program was needed to prepare the unemployed and underemployed to qualify for "today's and tomorrow's jobs." One of the major pieces of supporting evidence for the structural theory of unemployment was the classified help wanted ad sections of major newspapers. In city after city, manpower planners pointed out that, despite relatively high unemployment rates, the Sunday editions of newspapers contained thick help wanted ad sections listing, in part, jobs with titles that did not even exist five years previously. During this last recession (1974–75) as unemployment rates climbed to nearly unparalled heights, several columnists raised doubts about the validity of unemployment figures by counting the number of columns of help wanted advertising – thus implying a preference on the part of the unemployed for unemployment insurance rather than jobs.

If indeed classified help wanted ads contain a large percentage of the open jobs in local labor markets, the policies advocated by the "structuralists" of the 1960s and intensive studies of want ads by employment service personnel would be justified. To this day, help wanted ads are sometimes used to justify training in occupations "for which there is a reasonable expectation of employment." The tendency has been and still is to *assume* the validity of the number and range of jobs listed in classified help wanted ads.

This assumption, however, has never been adequately tested. Certain basic questions have not been asked. For example: What, in fact, do help wanted ads describe? Who are the primary advertisers? Can significant information, of use to economists and labor market analysts, be extracted? Do want ads provide job seekers with adequate information about a wide range of local job opportunities? Can manpower planners identify demand or "skill shortage" occupations by monitoring want ads? How does want ad information compare with other sources of information about the movement of jobs and people through a local labor market? In short, do the want ads operate at their full potential as a labor exchange mechanism?

That want ads are of value as an advertising medium to those employers and employment agencies who pay for them does not necessarily mean that they are of equal value to job seekers. An employment agency, for example, needs to attract a constant large flow of job seekers in order to find the qualified individuals acceptable to employers. The objective of the unemployed person is to spend minimum time and effort to obtain the desired job. To the extent that these objectives are not coincident, the value of want ads as a tool to job seekers decreases accordingly. As the value of want ads as a search tool for job seekers decreases, so may their attractiveness as an advertising medium to some employers.

To date, little research has been conducted to "go behind" the want ads – to determine, if possible, how many different, genuine jobs are listed; how successfully jobs and workers are matched by means of want ads; in what occupations and industries transactions occur; and what want ads reveal about occupational trends, specific locations of jobs, wages, qualifications, and so forth. The question as to whether classified want ad sections are indeed accurate reflections of local labor markets also has yet to be explored.

Analyses of want ads have been made by the National Industrial Conference Board, a few research firms and individual researchers, and public employment service agencies. The Conference Board uses a quantitative index of want ad volume – both ad count and lineage from over fifty newspapers in the country – as a national economic indicator. The index has clearly established that ads move inversely but in close conformity to the nation's unemployment rates and are a "coincident indicator" of general business activity. A Conference Board study made in 1965 tested the feasibility of using want ads to measure job vacancies and as a tool to identify skill shortage occupations within a given labor area, but without much success.[1] It showed that indices of help wanted ads at best might be a possible indicator only of the direction of change in number of job vacancies.

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[1] John G. Myers and Daniel Creamer, *Measuring Job Vacancies: A Feasibility Study in the Rochester, New York Area*, No. 97 of *Studies in Business Economics* (National Industrial Conference Board, 1965).

Olympus Research Corporation, in its study of the effectiveness of Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) training in meeting employers' needs in skill shortage occupations, used want ads as an indicator of occupational demand.[2] Ads were categorized by occupational code and counted. This information, together with other indicators, was used in an attempt to determine whether MDTA training was being conducted in demand occupations. The results were inconclusive.

A February 1973 examination of job seeking methods used by unemployed workers found that approximately 25 percent of the unemployed use want ads, as opposed to 30 percent who use the employment service, and 8 percent who use private agencies.[3] The study found that women use ads significantly more than men, and whites more than blacks.

A year later, a study reported in one newspaper (the March 4, 1973, edition of the Washington *Post*) posed the question: "Help Wanted: Jobs for the Poor?"[4] The study estimated that the poor could not qualify for 78 percent of the jobs listed in the ads, and that 89 percent of the low-skill jobs were filled immediately.

With the exception of the Conference Board index (which measures the volume rather than the content of ads) and the Bradshaw study, these studies have been small, were scattered in nature, and have tended to concentrate on single areas of emphasis. No known research has attempted to analyze systematically the content of ads and to examine in turn their utility to job seekers, employers, and labor market planners to gain insight into their function as a labor exchange mechanism. Accompanying the attempts to use the want ads as an economic planning tool has been a growing skepticism regarding the value of want ads as a local economic indicator. This, coupled with recent magazine and newspaper articles revealing the pitfalls faced by job seekers who use want ads, has indicated such research is needed. For example, a Washington *Post* article quoted public officials in the District of Columbia and Maryland as questioning the validity of many of the jobs listed in want ads.[5] Harvey Katz, writing in the November 1970 issue of *The Washingtonian*, questioned particularly the authenticity of jobs listed by private employment agencies.[6]

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[2] Garth L. Mangum and John Walsh, *A Decade of Manpower Development and Training* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1973).

[3] Thomas F. Bradshaw, "Jobseeking Methods Used by Unemployed Workers," *Monthly Labor Review* (February 1973).

[4] Bradley R. Schiller, "Want Ads and Jobs for the Poor," *Manpower Magazine* (January 1974), pp. 12-13.

Syndicated columnist Sylvia Porter in a recent series of articles warned about help wanted ads that appear to be describing jobs but are in fact advertising business opportunities of a dubious and fraudulent nature. After describing these ads, Ms. Porter noted: "As unemployment climbs in this spring of business setback, ads similar to the above will lure countless tens or maybe hundreds of thousands of scared jobless into following this apparent route to a successful venture of their own."[7] In a subsequent article, she deplored the continued use of sex designations in help wanted ads, in violation of the Civil Rights Act and court decisions, and called upon law enforcement agencies and the public to take action.[8]

Yet the classified help wanted ad sections of the major newspapers constitute the single most convenient listing of local job vacancies and the only public listing of job opportunities, with the exception of lists displayed by some employment service local offices and civil service offices. For employers, help wanted ads ensure the widest possible exposure of their job openings. As such, they constitute an important national labor market resource whose operation at its full potential benefits all who might use it. Thus the subject is worthy of a multifaceted study of content and usage.

So far as we are able to determine, this study represents the first in-depth attempt to go behind the want ads and analyze their behavior and content over an extended period of time. It is a limited study – limited to two newspapers in dissimilar labor markets. But the uniqueness of the study and the paucity of other information argue for its publication. In conducting this analysis of the want ads, we, in a sense, placed ourselves in the position of job seekers and labor market analysts. However, instead of merely scanning the ads, we performed in-depth analyses of the classified help wanted ad sections of the two newspapers studied. A want ad coding system for ordering and recording want ad information was devised. Every piece of job information contained in the want ads of selected editions was extracted and coded. Ads were counted and columns measured. The results were integrated with findings emanating from random samples of employers in the two areas served by these papers, from samples of employers who could be identified as want ad advertisers, and from a job seeker sample. Wherever possible, comparisons were made between want ad information and other local labor market indicators. Our objectives were as follows:

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[5] Tom Huth, "Employment Agencies Deny Deception in Classified Ads," Washington *Post* (November 6, 1971), p. B-11.

[6] Harvey Katz, "Hurry! Hurry! Hurry! Get Your Super Job Now," *The Washingtonian* (November 1970).

[7] Sylvia Porter, "The Perils of Pyramid Selling," "Risks in Vending Machine Sales," "Swindles in Distributorships," San Francisco *Chronicle* (February 13, 14, and 15, 1974).

[8] Sylvia Porter, "Sex Discrimination Still Rampant," San Francisco *Chronicle*.

(1) To assess the use of want ads by all employers and to determine the job matching value of want ads to those employers who can be identified as want ad advertisers (or "users")

(2) To assess the job matching value of want ads to job seekers

(3) To determine whether it is possible to extract labor market information from analyses of help wanted ads which make possible valid comparisons with other *local* labor market indicators and to make such comparisons where possible

A major purpose of the study was to test the feasibility of a broader study encompassing a more representative range of labor markets and newspapers. Since time and budgetary considerations precluded both directions – either feasibility or exhaustive investigations into each objective – we opted for emphasis on problems of feasibility and sheer descriptive information about help wanted ads. Since the samples with regard to each objective are of necessity small, the findings in some instances are inconclusive, or pertain only to the two newspapers and labor markets involved for the period they were studied. We make no claim that such findings can be extended to a national statement without additional research. However, we feel it important to present the study's findings, whatever their faults, in order to contribute to the conduct of broader research.

The study took place in San Francisco and Salt Lake City, two cities chosen more for their differences than their similarities. More than 63 percent of the occupational distribution in San Francisco are in the professional, clerical, and operative categories; in Salt Lake City, nearly 64 percent are in the sales, craftworker, and service categories. San Francisco is the hub of a large metropolitan area. It is also highly unionized, a factor which implies far more hiring and promotional control by contract. Salt Lake City is located in a "right to work" state. San Francisco has a large minority population; comparatively few minorities live in Salt Lake City. At the time of the analysis, San Francisco had 212 private employment agencies, as compared to 33 for Salt Lake City. Complete economic profiles of the two cities are presented in Table 1-1.

Help wanted ads in selected Sunday editions of the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* and the Salt Lake *Tribune* were coded and analyzed for the five-year period 1968 to 1972. In both cities, there are actually two newspapers (the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* in San Francisco; and in addition to the *Tribune*, the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City), but the two papers in each city publish a joint edition on Sundays. The *Chronicle-Examiner* and the *Tribune* are the only Sunday papers circulated in the two cities.

A telephone survey was conducted of all listed San Francisco publications that carry local help wanted ads. The survey included weekly, bi-weekly, bi-monthly, and daily publications of ethnic groups. The average want ad volume, by line, of all such publications combined amounted to less than 5 percent of the total carried in the San Francisco *Chronicle* and was regarded as insignificant.

The Sunday editions were chosen for analysis because they usually represent the highest volume of jobs in the week. In San Francisco, the Sunday edition represents 22 percent of the ads appearing over the seven days of the week. It can be assumed (though this is not based on statistical analysis) that more job seekers scan the Sunday papers than any other edition of the week. There does not appear to be any reason to believe that the Sunday paper represents a significantly different body of employers or ad content from the daily papers, except that according to officials of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, a higher portion of the ads on Sunday were from national advertisers. Consequently, a comparison between the Sunday edition to daily editions was not explored in this study, although such research should be undertaken at some future time.

It is important also to note that the study limited itself to examining the relationship of want ads to *local* labor markets. No attempt was made to assess the relationship of national advertising to a national marketplace. Consequently, trade publications, professional journals, and publications such as the *Wall Street Journal* were not studied because their ads are directed at a national job market. This is a separate labor exchange mechanism equally deserving of study, however.

In approaching the problem of classifying and characterizing the content of Sunday want ad sections, the authors were impressed by the diversity of material within a want ad section from which the job seeker must make appropriate selections — ads placed by local employers; ads placed by private employment agencies, some for jobs with fees to the job seeker; ads for out-of-area firms engaged in areawide, state, and national recruitment. The opportunities described range from wage or salaried jobs to "commission only" work to self-employment opportunities or "training" advertisements. Ads which recruit for the Armed Forces are even listed as job opportunities in the help wanted columns. Ad sections are generally not organized to highlight either job locations or the variety of opportunities they contain; indeed, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the nature of the opportunity after reading the ad. Occupational designations are often glamorized or unclear. Thus to the housewife (with whom we started the chapter) entering the labor market and lacking sophistication in labor market manipulation, the want ad section may very well be an enigmatic maze.

Some of the terms used throughout this book emerged from the need to identify various kinds of help wanted ads and want ad advertisers, and to provide labels for methodologies and

Table 1-1
Profiles of Survey Cities

Category	San Francisco		Salt Lake City	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Population:				
SMSA	3,109,519		557,635	
City	715,674		175,635	
Percent of SMSA in city		23.0%		31.5%
Minority population, SMSA[a]		17.2		2.1
Nonagricultural wage and salary workers:				
Distribution by known industry—				
Total for SMSA, 1972	1,258,500		238,457	
Percentage distribution				
Total		100.0		100.0
Mining		0.1		2.7
Contract construction		4.9		5.4
Manufacturing		14.8		14.4
Transportation, communication, utilities		10.1		6.9
Wholesale trade		6.5		24.6
Retail trade		15.2		24.6
Finance, insurance, real estate		8.1		5.4
Services		18.5		16.0
Government		21.7		24.7
Occupational distribution of county population:				
Total		100.0		100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers		17.8		8.5
Managers and administrators (except farm)		6.5		4.4
Sales workers		7.2		24.3
Clerical and kindred workers		29.4		12.5
Craftworkers, supervisors, and kindred workers		8.6		12.4
Operatives and laborers (except farm)		14.1		5.6
Service workers, including domestics		16.1		27.0
Agricultural workers		0.3		0.6

---

[a] Black and other races.

Table 1-1 (continued)

Category	San Francisco		Salt Lake City	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Annual unemployment rates, SMSA				
1968		4.0		4.8
1969		3.9		4.5
1970		5.1		5.0
1971		5.9		5.4
1972		5.7		5.3
Number of employing units, by industry, for classifiable nongovernment establishments:				
Total for county, 1972	19,861		8,728	
Percentage distribution—				
Total		100.0		100.0
Mining		0.1		0.8
Contract construction		4.5		11.1
Manufacturing		7.8		7.0
Transportation, communication, utilities		3.3		2.9
Wholesale trade		11.8		12.0
Retail trade		22.9		22.3
Finance, insurance, real estate		14.0		11.6
Service		35.7%		32.3%
Number of private agencies listed in city phone book	212		33	

coding or measuring units. Since the meanings of these terms would not be immediately apparent to most readers, definitions are provided below:

(1) *Employer surveys:* Mail surveys of representative, random samples of employers in San Francisco and Salt Lake City.

(2) *User surveys:* Mail surveys of selected samples of local employers who, during a designated period of time, advertised in the help wanted pages of the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* and the Salt Lake City *Tribune.*

(3) *Job seeker studies:* Surveys of job seekers in the two cities carried out in local employment service offices

over a limited period of time. The surveys consisted of two parts:

(a) The presentation of self-completing forms to employment service applicants who in turn completed the forms on site.

(b) Personal interviews with subsamples of the respondents.

(4) *Content studies:* In-depth analyses of two editions of each newspaper involving every type of ad.

(5) *Users:* Employers who advertise in the want ads.

(6) *Private agency ads:* Help wanted ads placed by private employment agencies which charge fees to either employers or job seekers.

(7) *Employer ads:* Help wanted ads placed by employers.

(8) *Bordered ads:* Ads placed by firms, usually through contractual agreements with national advertising companies, for the purpose of recruiting workers on a national, state, or areawide basis. Such advertisers supply their own copy and, in the *Chronicle-Examiner*, are distinguished by a characteristic inside "border." Where productive, they are treated as a subgroup of employer ads.

(9) *Our own occupational codes:* Three-digit codes specifically designed to designate occupations on the basis of information contained in want ads. The descriptive information is often too limited to warrant the application of *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (DOT) codes. Therefore, our own codes do not imply evaluations of job duties or the accuracy of the listed titles.

(10) *Jobs (or want ad jobs):* The aggregate number of job titles contained in help wanted ad pages. The want ad unit that was counted for coding purposes was a job title, or each occupation listed within an ad. Since more than one title is often listed in a single want ad, the total number of "want ad jobs" is higher than the total number of ads.

Our inquiry into the want ads is organized into five chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the value of want ads to employers. The use of want ads by job seekers is discussed in chapter 3. Chapter 4 deals with the value of want ads as a source of labor market information. The composition of a metropolitan newspaper's help wanted section, as determined through a comparison of data from the two-city study and the subsequent twelve-city study still under way, is discussed in chapter 5. Chapter 6 presents the implications of the study.

These chapters report on what is perhaps the most detailed study of want ads in metropolitan papers ever attempted. Its results indicated that want ads alone, as constituted at the present time, offer a limited and often distorted picture of jobs in local labor markets. As a recruitment tool, they are of considerable value to a comparatively small but important group of employers. As a job seeking tool, ads are used extensively and with a considerable degree of success, even though their value is impaired by inadequate and imprecise job information and by poor organization and stratification in the newspapers.

These conclusions cannot be applied equally to the two labor markets or be extended arbitrarily to all newspapers and all areas, or beyond the period studied. The study does, however, suggest that such problems as were apparent may exist on a more widespread basis than the two newspapers involved. Moreover, because the study is the first of its kind, there can be no doubt that some of the techniques developed and used could be refined or augmented for use in a broader study and, in some cases, the application of totally different techniques might yield better information.

Nevertheless, the findings should be of use to manpower planners — especially those at the local level — and should alert them to the complexities of basing major decisions upon labor market information emanating solely from want ads.

2

Use of Want Ads by Employers

Employers recruit, screen, and fill their job openings through a variety of job matching mechanisms, both formal and informal. A number of studies have been or are being conducted to identify these mechanisms, to describe how various groups of employers use them, and with what degree of success.

The method used for filling an open job can be compared to a shutter over a ray of light – the size of the shutter's opening determines how much of the public will be exposed to the job opening. The shutter is completely closed when jobs are filled through internal labor market mechanisms, by employee transfers, or upgrading. Only a flicker of light escapes when jobs are filled through informal means, such as friends of employees or casual walk-ins. The size of the opening is wider but restricted to members of a "closed system" when jobs are filled through referrals by unions, professional associations, and other organizations.

More publicly available jobs are filled through third-party brokers, such as public and private employment agencies and school placement offices. Most visible are openings listed in the want ads. Job visibility to the public is also increased when jobs are filled through a combination of these mechanisms, e.g., jobs placed with private employment agencies, which then list selected openings in the newspaper, or jobs placed with the public employment service that are displayed for public scrutiny.

A help wanted ad listed in a newspaper by an employer is the most public method for effecting job match. It does not involve a third party in the initial recruitment and screening process. Because a want ad involves an outlay of money on the part of the advertiser, it can be assumed (if the process is a rational one) that the ad has been placed because the less public, informal, no-cost methods have not or are not expected to produce a sufficient number of appropriate applicants to fill the opening. Employers may use want ads simultaneously with other recruiting methods, or only under certain conditions, or only for certain kinds of jobs.

Our overall purpose in attempting to assess the use of want ads by employers was twofold: (1) to determine the *extent* to which employers use want ads, and (2) to assess the *job matching* value of want ads to employers. Two samples of employers were surveyed. The first was a representative sample of all employing units in the two cities (employer survey), and the second was a sample of employers who advertised job openings in four editions of the Salt Lake *Tribune* and the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* (user survey). The findings discussed below in the form of questions and answers emerged from a synthesis of the two surveys in both cities.

Overall Conclusion

The use of want ads by employers varied between the two cities, but in both cities a relatively *small percentage of employers hired workers through want ad advertising.* These tended to be large firms concentrated in selected industries. For those employers, help wanted ads were an *important job matching mechanism* used primarily to recruit job seekers in selected occupational groups and to fill immediate vacancies. Want ads represented more of the *total labor market activity* in Salt Lake City than in San Francisco: A higher percentage of Salt Lake employers advertised and hired through want ads over a wider range of occupations. Use of want ads by employers appeared to relate *inversely* to the prevalence of alternative job matching mechanisms in a local labor market.

These conclusions are based on results from the survey seeking answers to the eleven questions discussed in the following paragraphs.

1. What percent of all employers in the two cities used want ads and with what degree of success? An unexpectedly small proportion of employers in the survey cities had used the want ads for recruitment. Less than half of the San Francisco employers surveyed had used want ads to recruit help in any occupation; in Salt Lake City, less than 60 percent had done so. The degree of success experienced by those who had used want ads as a recruitment tool may explain the reluctance of a substantial portion of the employing community to try them. (The authors, however, did not interview non-user firms as to their reasons for not using want ads. A pattern of non-use might be rooted either in satisfaction with other means of recruitment or in dissatisfaction with the want ads. Research conducted to determine reasons for employers' non-use of want ads, insofar as it highlighted factors producing employer dissatisfaction with them, might make a substantial contribution to the market potential of the want ads. As with job seekers, such factors might include organization of the want ad section or format of ads.) Of the employers surveyed, 85 percent in San Francisco and 76 percent in Salt Lake City had hired no workers through the want ads during 1972. The fact that Salt Lake City employers were more inclined to use want ads than San Francisco employers may be attributed to the higher degree of success achieved through their use.

These findings emerged from the employer survey conducted by the research team. While the size of the sample surveyed was limited by the resources available for it, it was large enough to produce statistically significant overall findings. The total number of employers surveyed in both cities was nine hundred – six hundred in San Francisco and three hundred in Salt Lake City – or about 3 percent of the total universes in both cities. The sample was stratified by eight industrial and eight "size of firm" cells. The total number of respondents was 673 (or about 75 percent), 457 in San Francisco and 217 in Salt Lake City (see Appendix Tables A-9 and A-12).

Because the subsamples within cells were often very small, the findings regarding individual cells are sometimes inconclusive. For more definitive findings, a much larger sample would have been necessary. Here was an area where we opted for feasibility – proving that such a study could be structured and that responses from all types of employers regarding want ad use could be obtained. Although some findings pertaining to individual cells were subject to considerable sampling error and the others could not be extended to represent a national pattern or to represent the papers at a time beyond the period studied, the most significant are presented below.

2. What type of employer used the want ads for recruitment? The results of the employer survey showed that want ads are not used equally by employers of all sizes and in all industrial activities. Instead, large employers in both cities were more likely to use want ads than small firms. As indicated in Table 2-1, the proportion of San Francisco employers of fifty or more workers using want ads as a recruitment tool was nearly twice that of employers in smaller "size of firm" categories. In Salt Lake City, the proportion of large firms using the want ads was even higher in relation to that of firms employing fewer than fifty workers.

Larger firms are heavier users of want ads and other formal channels of recruitment because they have more openings calling for specialized skills or advanced education than small employers. For such openings, employers tend to conduct a relatively widespread geographic search, using channels with a capability of drawing adequate numbers of such applicants.[1] Large employers may also use the want ads to draw applicants for high turnover positions, a luxury which most smaller firms cannot afford.

The employer survey demonstrated that, in terms of industrial characteristics, help wanted user firms were concentrated in the manufacturing and service sectors of both cities. In Salt Lake City, employers in contract construction and retail trade also used want ads more heavily than other types of firms. In San Francisco, employers in wholesale trade and transportation, in addition to those in the manufacturing and service

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[1] Margaret S. Gordon and Margaret Thal-Larsen, *Employer Policies in a Changing Labor Market* (Berkeley: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California), pp. 195–263.

Table 2-1

Percentages of Employers Who Use
Want Ads by Number of Employees[a]

	Weighted Percentage Who Use Want Ads	
Number of Employees	San Francisco	Salt Lake City
One to three	9.1%	0.0%
Four to seven	6.2	12.9
Eight to nineteen	24.9	0.2
Twenty to 49	22.7	5.8
Fifty to 99	42.9	55.9
One hundred to 249	43.0	34.9
Two hundred fifty to 499	75.0	35.4
Five hundred or more	52.2%	85.0%

[a] Size of firm.

industries, were more apt to recruit workers through want ads than employers in other industries.

Predictably, the distribution by industry of employers who *hired* through the want ads was approximately the same as those who used the want ads. In both cities, employers in finance, insurance, and real estate were among those least likely to use want ads. This is a rather surprising finding because, visually, insurance company ads consume a great deal of space in want ad sections. However, this is apparently attributable to the large size of the ads rather than the actual number. The heavy degree of unionization in San Francisco compared to Salt Lake City accounted for the difference in the use of want ads by construction employers.

3. In what occupations did employers hire workers through want ads? In both cities, employers reported that they were most successful in hiring clerical workers through want ads. Employers in both cities also reported a relatively high rate of success in hiring sales workers. In San Francisco, a substantial percentage of employers also reported success in hiring professional, managerial, and technical workers.

The greater success San Francisco employers reported in hiring workers in the latter categories through the want ads can be attributed to differences in the makeup of the two cities: San Francisco is a corporate center; Salt Lake City is a manufacturing and distribution center. The fact that a larger readership of potential applicants for professional, managerial, and technical jobs exists for the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* may explain the success of employers who use it for such jobs.

In Salt Lake City, on the other hand, a substantial percentage of employers hired semiskilled and unskilled laborers and service workers through want ads. Unquestionably, the reason why employers successfully use want ads for the recruitment of blue-collar workers in Salt Lake City and not in San Francisco is because of differences in the extent of unionization in the two cities: San Francisco is highly unionized, Salt Lake City is *not* (Table 2-2). An interesting conjecture is that employers may be more inclined to use want ads for higher skilled jobs if the papers in which the ads appear are circulated over a wide geographic area. The San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* has one of the largest Sunday circulations in the country and is distributed over a high-population metropolitan area. This may be a significant factor in understanding why employers in San Francisco reported some success in filling professional, technical, and managerial jobs through want ads. Of the jobs listed in the Salt Lake *Tribune*, nearly 64 percent were located in the city of Salt Lake. The corresponding figure in San Francisco was 52 percent.

4. What was the time relationship between the appearance of a want ad and the opening of a job? Employers were asked at what point they place a want ad – when they anticipate an opening, at the point the opening actually occurs, or when other recruitment sources have failed to provide a suitable replacement for the person vacating the position.

Approximately 64 percent of the employers surveyed in both cities placed ads only when specific vacancies occur. In both cities, approximately 21 percent of the employers stated that they use want ads only as a last resort or when vacancies become difficult to fill; 15 percent indicated that jobs are

Table 2-2

Percent of 1972 Hires Recruited through
Want Ads by Occupation
(Both cities)

Occupation	Weighted Percentage of Employers Who Use Want Ads: San Francisco	Weighted Percentage of Employers Who Use Want Ads: Salt Lake City
Officers and managers	9.9%	9.8%
Professionals	15.8	6.1
Technicians	9.5	4.9
Sales workers	10.2	19.0
Clerical	20.9	28.3
Craftworkers	4.8	14.9
Semiskilled operators	3.5	15.9
Unskilled laborers	3.9	15.1
Service workers	3.9%	13.5%

advertised when vacancies are anticipated in the future. These figures are based on the results of the employer survey, but when responses to the same question posed to employers who responded to the user survey were examined, substantially the same distributions prevailed.

5. What was the pattern of usage among employers who placed want ads? An unexpected consequence of constructing the sample of employers for the user survey was the research staff's discovery that a relatively small number of employers accounted for a disproportionate number of the want ads appearing in the newspapers studied.

To develop a sample of user employers, employer ads were clipped from four Sunday editions of each newspaper (according to whether employers could be identified) and then pasted on file cards. The cards were then examined to eliminate duplicate employers. As a result of this process, the staff noted that about 16 percent of the total number of employers who placed ads in the four Sunday editions from which the user survey was drawn accounted for slightly over 38 percent of the total number of employer ads that appeared in the four sample editions. Table 2-3 illustrates this relationship.

While these multiple ad users placed an average of slightly more than three ads each in a single edition, the actual distribution of their ad placement (shown in Table 2-4) was widely dispersed. Over a hundred employers placed two ads in the four editions, while a handful of firms placed between ten and seventeen ads in these papers.

6. Among employers who advertised their jobs, how successful were the ads they placed? Nearly 60 percent of the employers who responded to the user survey in both cities reported that their ads resulted in hires. The employers who participated in the user survey were provided with copies of their ads; thus all responses were in relation to particular ads. In San Francisco, a total of 411 employers responded to the survey questionnaire, of which 247 or 60 percent reported success in filling their jobs. In Salt Lake City, out of 217 responding employers, 127 or 58 percent reported success. When the fact that 21 percent of the firms placed a want ad only as a last resort or to fill difficult vacancies is taken into consideration, these figures constitute a powerful testimonial to the want ads' capability to broadcast a job opening. In a broader survey, it would be interesting to study the characteristics of "successful" ads (size, informational content, presence of employer name, and so on) and "unsuccessful" ones to determine whether there are any significant differences in format between them.

7. In which occupations and industries were ads more successful or less successful? User employers reported the most success with ads in filling clerical and service jobs. Ads for managerial and administrative positions were the *least* successful. Only one industry – government – reported less than 50 percent success in filling jobs through want ads. Success ratios by size of firm were approximately the same for all size categories.

Table 2-3

Number and Percentage Distribution of Duplicate and Nonduplicate Employers and Their Ads in the User Survey

(Both cities)

	Want Ads		Employers	
Category	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ads in user survey	1,797	100.0%	1,322	100.0%
Duplicate employers' ads	689	38.3%	214	16.2%
Nonduplicate employers' ads	1,108	61.7%	1,108	83.8%

Table 2-4

Number of Ads Placed by User Survey Employers Who Had Placed More Than One Ad in the Four Sample Editions

(Both cities)

Number of Employers	Number of Ads by Each	Number of Ads
108	2	216
49	3	147
30	4	120
9	5	45
8	6	48
1	7	7
1	8	8
2	9	18
1	10	10
2	11	22
1	14	14
2	17	34
214		689

8. How many people were hired as a result of want ads placed by employers included in the user survey? A total of 385 ads resulted in 1,019 hires in both cities (Table 2-5). The differences in the number of hires between the two cities were substantial. However, for reasons which are discussed in the next paragraph, the information on numbers of hires reported by user employers is not considered reliable; thus the differences may be exaggerated.

Two major problems associated with the user survey have relevance to all of the findings emerging from the survey. Between 50 and 59 percent (the first figure is for Salt Lake City, the latter for San Francisco) of the employers who advertised in want ads could not be identified by those who read their ads. This posed the question as to whether the practices and experience of employers who did not identify themselves were different from those who did. Although this question was not answered by the study, the problem was partially overcome out of sheer necessity. In San Francisco, only 288 employers could be identified from the sample. By performing additional research (calling employers and conducting an address search), we identified an additional 288 employers. Thus in San Francisco, the sample was equally divided between employers who identified themselves and those who did not. Resources did not permit such a search in Salt Lake City; thus the Salt Lake City sample consisted solely of those employers who identified themselves in their ads. In both cities, it proved impossible to reach employers who placed "blind" ads (ads listing only box numbers); nor was it possible to identify any significant differences in ad success between employers who identified themselves and those who did not.

The user survey sample therefore was biased in favor of employers identified in their ads, and it contained no employers placing blind ads. Whether the findings would have been altered by the inclusion of more employers who did not identify themselves in their ads and by a representative sample of blind ad employers is not known.

The second problem has to do with the accuracy of the responses received. Some employers used many different recruitment mechanisms and kept no records as to which mech-

Table 2-5

Number of Hires Reported by Respondents to the User Survey

City	Respondents	Respondents Who Hired	Ads Placed	Individuals Hired
Salt Lake City	217	127	138	612
San Francisco	411	247	247	407
TOTAL	628	374	385	1,019

anisms resulted in hires. This was particularly true with regard to employers who placed "continuing" ads (those which run continuously from a month to a year). Such employers found it difficult to break down hires that resulted from want ads, as opposed to walk-ins, employee referrals, referrals from employment agencies, and so on. Some employers reported as many as forty hires from a single want ad, but when queried on a follow-up call, stated that they were not certain that all forty hires were job seekers who answered the want ads.

Thus the problem of determining how many hires result from want ads was difficult to resolve. Should the same weight have been given to a single ad that ran for three days as that given to an ad that ran for a year? Should we have relied on the memory of employers constantly hiring for seasonal or high turnover jobs, who use many different means of recruitment and keep no records as to which hires result from which recruitment means?

However, evidence from other sources *did* indicate that want ads were a much more viable instrument in Salt Lake City than in San Francisco. The number of ads contained in the Salt Lake *Tribune* was smaller than the number of ads contained in the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner*. Nevertheless, the ratio of Salt Lake City employers who used want ads was nearly twice as high as the corresponding ratio in San Francisco. Since the Salt Lake City labor market is much smaller than that of the Bay Area, the result was that a higher percentage of the total jobs available were being advertised in the *Tribune* to a small number of potential applicants.

In addition, Salt Lake City is much more weighted toward blue-collar and service workers than San Francisco and has a 25 percent higher incidence of manufacturing jobs. Because of the nature of hiring in these areas, ads were much more likely to result in large numbers of hires.

The industrial makeup of the two areas has something to do with the successful use of want ads by employers. San Francisco is primarily a "paper" city; Salt Lake City is a growing industrial area. Industrial blue-collar jobs that *do* exist in San Francisco are primarily union controlled; Utah is a "right to work" state. Finally, the nature of the labor force in any given area may have something to do with employer use of want ads.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a large percentage of the labor force is made up of minorities; in Salt Lake City, the percentage of minorities is very small. If discrimination is still a problem, the number of minorities who respond to ads in San Francisco may negatively affect the use of want ads by individual employers.

9. Among the sample of user employers, what percentage of all hires in 1972 were recruited from want ads? The hiring success rate of want ad users was decidedly different from that of employers in general; 85 percent of all employers surveyed in San Francisco and 76 percent of all the employers surveyed in Salt Lake City had hired no workers through the want ads during 1972. However, nearly half of the user firms' new hires in 1972 in both cities resulted from want ad recruitment. Thus although only a small percentage of all employers in San Francisco and Salt Lake City hired workers through want ads, want ads were extremely important to that small percentage advertising their openings regularly.

10. What other recruitment mechanisms were used by employers who advertised in want ads? Nearly half (45 percent) of the employers included in the user survey used *no* other recruitment means. The remainder used other recruitment means at the same time they advertised in the want ads. Of the 404 jobs listed in the want ads by employers who responded to the user survey, 134 (or 33 percent) were also placed with the employment service, and 25 percent were placed with professional associations or unions.

Clearly, the employment service was used more extensively in Salt Lake City by employers who also used want ads. Though there are many more person-to-job matching alternative mechanisms in San Francisco than in Salt Lake City (particularly union hiring halls and private employment agencies), this difference is not sharply reflected in Table 2-6. It is possible that most employers who advertise in want ads do not participate in closed systems. However, among employers recruiting for blue-collar or skilled jobs, 78 percent in San Francisco checked "unions"; the corresponding figure for Salt Lake City was only 23 percent. This finding *does* reflect the difference in degree of unionization between the two cities.

The responses to the question of which recruiting techniques were used by employers shed light on some of the problems inherent in labor market research. There is a never-ending effort to assess the number of job vacancies existing at a given moment in a given community. The responses to the user survey, however, made clear that the same jobs appear in different places at the same time. For example, private employment agencies were also used to recruit workers for 52 percent of the jobs listed by user employers in the want ads. Many employers used more than one agency, and since virtually all agencies advertised in the want ads and the employer himself could advertise simultaneously, it was evident that the same job is apt to appear several times in the want ad columns. For that reason a count of all job opportunities listed in a newspapers is *not by any means* reflective of job vacancies.

11. How many employers who responded to the user survey reported unfilled jobs despite all recruitment attempts (want ads, the employment service, professional associations and unions, and the like)? Thirty-four percent of the user employers reported that the jobs they advertised were still open two to three months after their ads appeared. The jobs most likely to remain unfilled were in the unskilled blue-collar and professional categories — the two extreme ends of the occupational spectrum.

Table 2-6

Recruitment Methods Other Than Want Ads Used by Employer Respondents to the User Survey[a]

City	Public Employment Service	Private Agencies	Professional Associations and Unions
Salt Lake City	70	50	38
San Francisco	56	53	44

[a] Percent of total multiple responses.

The finding with respect to unfilled jobs appears to differ significantly from the Schiller study, noted in chapter 1, which reported that 89 percent of low-skill jobs listed in the want ads were filled immediately.

The sizes of the subsamples, by occupation, were too small to support the hypothesis that jobs unfilled through want ads (or other recruitment means) indicate "skill shortages." This is another area of investigation which could be pursued in a broader study.

3

Usefulness of Want Ads to Job Seekers

Job seekers can use a variety of techniques for finding or changing jobs. These include suggestions from friends and family members, referrals by unions and professional associations, a random search among employers who are known to hire people of similar skills, and direct application to employers with known vacancies. Those workers who are not attached to a nonpublic closed system are particularly dependent upon information on job openings that is provided by a variety of public and semipublic mechanisms, most of which serve as third-party brokers. Among these mechanisms are private employment agencies, the employment service, school placement offices, and help wanted ads.

Only want ads and lists of jobs displayed in some local employment service offices and civil service offices provide job seekers with information from which they can make appropriate selections without recourse to a third party. Want ads are therefore useful to the job seeker to the degree that they represent the universe of job vacancies for him in a community (to be dealt with in more detail in chapter 4) and to the extent that they contain sufficient information to allow him to make appropriate selections of employers to contact. On the other hand, inadequate, imprecise, or misleading information about a job advertised may result in an inappropriate selection of employers to contact, and consequently a fruitless effort for the job seeker that is costly to him or her in terms of time, money, and morale. To the extent that such misinformation delays the match of worker to job opening, it could hinder the efficient operation of the economy.

Our assessment of the value of want ads to job seekers was based on two overall investigations: (1) an analysis of the information contained in ads that would be of value to job seekers for purposes of self-screening, and (2) a survey of a prime audience for want ads – unemployed job seekers who were actively seeking work at local employment service offices in San Francisco and Salt Lake City. Unquestionably a random sample of job seekers, both employed and unemployed, would have been preferable to the employment service sample, which was admittedly a biased one. A random sample would have required a household survey which was beyond the available resources. However, since people who use the employment service are less apt to have access to "closed systems," those among them employing more than one search technique were inclined to be want ad users as well. In this sense, the bias in the sample may have produced a concentration of experience with want ads. On the other hand, the sample missed job seekers using the want ads but not the employment service, which would have been a significant component of a household sample of the same size. Bradshaw[1] notes that job seekers surveyed for his 1973 study used an average of one and a half methods each, with no individual category averaging as many as two methods or much less than one and a half methods. Thus the employment service job seeker sample missed both job seekers who use only one intermediary and those who use want ads in combination with other intermediaries.

To determine the amount and kinds of self-screening information contained in want ads, we made an in-depth analysis (or "content study") of the want ad sections of two editions of each newspaper. The results of this study were also used to identify the kinds of labor market information contained in want ads (see chapter 4). Bordered ads were treated as employer ads in the content study.

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[1] Thomas Bradshaw, "Job Seeking Methods Used by Unemployed Workers," *Monthly Labor Review* (February 1973).

The employment service job order form, which contains spaces for all of the kinds of information that its interviewers require to perform their job matching function adequately, served as a model for the categories of information which could be relevant in the self-screening process. Each job title listed in an ad, including job titles listed by private employment agencies, was then examined to determine (1) how many and (2) which of these categories of information it contained: name, address, and telephone number of employer; type of compensation; fringe benefits; experience; special skills and knowledge required; working hours; union membership; educational requirements; licensing requirements; transportation; bondability; traveling requirements; and number of openings.

A job description can be regarded as divisible into two distinct elements: (1) what is being offered (a description of the job), and (2) the kind of person being sought (specifications). Each element may include more or less significant information for the job seeker. The more significant data refer to the basic characteristics of every job about which the ad should not be silent and about which the job seeker can make no assumptions. For example, every job has a rate of pay. It cannot be assumed that there is none because the ad is silent. Nor can the job seeker *assume* a rate of pay since the range of possibilities are wide. This is an element that could be regarded as significant. A contrast can be made between the significance of wages in relation to that of hours and permanence of work. While it is true that every job has a given number of hours in the workweek and is either permanent or temporary, it is also true that if the ad is silent or provides no contrary information, the job seeker can assume that a job is permanent and has normal hours for that occupation. The absence of information as to hours could be considered insignificant.

The information which the job seeker cannot assume, and about which an ad should not be silent if it is to describe the job adequately, are: the identity of the employer and his type of business activity, the occupation, the location of the job, and the rate of pay. These elements, however, have various shades of significance to different job seekers and different occupations. The method of pay (e.g., wages or commissions) and fringe benefits are of serious concern to many people but could be regarded as lesser elements in the pay structure. However, when taken together these are the elements that allow job seekers to determine whether the advertised jobs are those they want. Our particular focus was in the *absence* of this type of information.

On the other hand, information that would assist job seekers to pursue only those jobs for which they are qualified and allow them to screen themselves successfully depends upon the degree to which the ads describe the individuals being sought. The effect of the presence or absence of such information is more difficult to assess. The silence of an ad about educational requirements, for example, may mean that education has no relevance to the job, or it may be most important but neglected in the ad. In any case, the study could not tell if absent specifying information was or was not actually relevant to the job. The purpose of extracting information about qualifications was to explore the degree to which these self-screening data were *present*, with *no* assumption that every ad need speak to every known job specification.

We also analyzed each ad for the *presence* of terms or phrases mentioning or implying requirements regarding age, sex, race, or marital status. Because the presence of such discriminatory screening information is in fact contrary to public policy, we were attempting to evaluate the extent of want ad compliance with equal opportunity legislation. The three conclusions reached are discussed below.

First Conclusion

Although the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* rated better in this regard than the Salt Lake *Tribune*, neither newspaper's help wanted ads, *as organized during the period studied*, offered the job seeker information which is adequate, precise, or easily obtainable for the self-screening process. Thus these newspapers' help wanted ads, when evaluated in accordance with the criteria discussed in the previous paragraphs, fell short of their potential as a job search tool.

These conclusions emanated from the findings of an investigation based on the questions which follow.

1. What information did the job seeker obtain from employer-placed ads to facilitate the self-screening process? Ads placed by employers provided job seekers with direct access to potential job matches. In San Francisco, employer ads accounted for 37 percent of all job titles listed in the want ads; the corresponding figure for Salt Lake City was 73 percent. However, it should be emphasized that the number of "job titles" did not equate with the number of *different* employers. The user survey revealed that in four different editions of the two newspapers, there were 702 ads placed by identifiable employers. These ads included 816 job titles. However, the ads were placed by only 214 different employers. Since a relatively small number of firms used the want ads for recruitment, the want ads could provide the job seeker with direct access *only* to a limited number of potential employers. For those user firms which made heavy use of the want ads, the job seeker was likely, however, to be exposed to their full array of openings through a scan of the ads.

Although employer-placed ads generally identified the occupation and geographical location of the jobs listed, they often lacked the other elements of information critical to job seeker self-screening. Over 85 percent of the ads failed to provide wage information of any kind; the employer was not identified in nearly 60 percent of the ads; and the industry activity could not be discerned in about a third of the ads. Less significant factual information regarding job duties, the company, or the qualifications needed was spotty and consequently made it difficult for our coding staff to distinguish some legitimate ads from the "come-on" type of ad (a term commonly used by job seekers). For example, specific mention of an educational requirement or the need for a license or a bond occurred infrequently. No assumptions were made about education or experience despite the fact that the job advertised was a high-skill, technical, or professional one.

Although it was possible for coders to apply an occupational code in most instances, jobs were too often described with superlatives that cast doubt on the accuracy of the occupational designations. Coders were instructed to assign occupational codes in relation to what was specifically stated in the ad (unless there was clear evidence in the copy that the title provided was grossly inaccurate; i.e. "clerk" was in fact a sales clerk job). Though the ad was given the benefit of the doubt, coders often found their credibility strained. It was evident that there were often wide discrepancies between the description of the job and the occupational titles provided. This was particularly true in the sales and managerial fields, where wages and other conditions of employment stated in the ads were too low to warrant the occupational designations.

Because of vague descriptions, coders had difficulty distinguishing some "jobs" from business opportunities. Certain ads, termed "dreams of glory" ads by the coding staff, were thought by the research staff to be "come-ons." An example is: "Earn $20,000 a year and up! We will train you. No experience needed. Travel! Grow with one of the nation's fastest growing distributors of electronic equipment...." In an attempt to isolate and characterize such "jobs," we asked a deliberately subjective question of the coders, using them as a research instrument. They were asked to identify all ads that they thought were "come-ons." The effort failed because the research staff failed to develop criteria which would have aided the coders in switching from objective to subjective analysis. Such criteria might have been the total absence of factual description of job duties and specific qualifications from the ad.

Thus nothing in the coding process or in any of the surveys, except the job seeker survey, differentiated legitimate jobs from "come-ons." The unique character of "come-on" ads was obscured by the coding process which captured only factual information, often but a small part of the grandiloquent script. The survey method would not have identified "come-ons" either. The employers who participated in the user survey would surely not be inclined to reveal whether the jobs they listed were as described, or even whether they were genuine jobs. Although the study did not set out to isolate and describe the differences between genuine jobs and "come-ons," to address the quality of jobs advertised, or to identify less than truth in advertising, it was impossible to analyze the want ads without developing a peripheral awareness of a pattern about which the job seeker must be wary.

The information contained in employer ads was often presented in a disorderly fashion, making it necessary for the job seeker to reach through as much as half a column of verbiage – about earnings prospects, the advertiser's prestige, and the ease with which the "job" could be performed – to pick out any factual data the ad contained. To the extent that job seekers may have felt the facts were deliberately obscured by an excess of verbiage, the presence of such ads vitiated the reliability of want ads as a screening device.

2. What information did the job seeker obtain from ads placed by private employment agencies to facilitate the self-screening process? Private employment agency ads, which accounted for 68 percent of the job titles (23 percent of the ads) listed in the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* and 27 percent of the job titles (14 percent of the ads) in the Salt Lake *Tribune*, do not provide job seekers with direct access to employers. Clearly, the information provided by private agencies on the jobs in their files is inadequate for job seeker self-screening, because that is not its purpose; the agencies rather than the job seekers perform the initial screening function. Thus a different set of criteria could be used to categorize private agency ads, or to view their usefulness to job seekers. The decision the job seeker has to make in viewing agency listings is not so much about the individual job itself as about whether the agency itself would be a worthwhile contact.

However, agency ads are primarily advertisements for private profit-making enterprises requiring a constant flow of placeable applicants to stay in business. Discussions with officials of private employment agencies indicated that the jobs listed by agencies are the best jobs of many in the same occupation and are selected to attract a large flow of applicants. If one high-quality listing attracts fifty well-qualified applicants, for example, private agencies will try to place the other 49 perhaps less attractive but still desirable individuals in its less desirable, more difficult-to-fill jobs which were not advertised. Viewed in this way, private agency ads are very much like sales notices or "specials" advertised by grocery chains – they tell very little about the general level of prices in the store; rather, they are designed to attract shoppers.

The advertising style of employment agencies differs widely. For example, one ad may not mention a single job but merely give the name of the agency in thick black print. Another may list as many as 65 jobs by titles, while still others may merely say "bookkeepers" or "engineers." Neither the labor market researcher nor the job seeker can assess from the style of the ad how many or what kinds of jobs are actually on file with the agency

In the San Francisco paper, where specific jobs were listed by private agencies in their own section, only the occupation and wage rate were provided. Nine out of ten agencies did not list the geographical location of jobs, and 86 percent did not identify their client's industry. Of course, since the agencies do the initial screening of applicants, not a single agency ad identified or described the employer.

Because private agencies perform an intermediate screening function, they need not provide the job seeker with information about advertised job listings adequate for self-screening purposes. However, private agencies, a major source of job titles within the want ads, fail to reflect their full array of job listings in their advertisements; consequently, for the job seeker to make an *informed* decision as to whether an agency contact is worthwhile on the basis of its ad is nearly impossible. Thus private employment agency ads must be regarded primarily as advertisements for the agencies themselves, rather than information as to the profile of opportunities they represent for either the job seeker or the manpower researcher. (For a more detailed analysis of private employment agency ads as a source of local job market information, see chapter 4. For a discussion of want ad user distribution from a broader perspective, see chapter 5.)

The San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* required that all private agency ads be listed in a separate section. It also required that each employer-placed ad begin with an occupational designation, then listed alphabetically in the want ad columns. Even if not strictly adhered to, such a policy makes it easier for job seekers to identify and eliminate the private agency section if they do not wish to use what could be a highcost job matching device, and it facilitates the location of occupations in which readers are interested. However, wide differences in the way similar jobs are titled still require a scan of the total want ad section.

The information presentation by the Salt Lake City *Tribune* was less precise. The *Tribune* allowed private agencies to advertise single jobs in the regular sections of the want ads and did *not* require an occupational designation at the beginning of each ad; nor did it attempt to alphabetize. Thus Salt Lake City job seekers have been forced to read every ad in the want ad section to locate all opportunities for which they are qualified. Because of the intermingling of agency with employer ads, newcomers or inexperienced job seekers may have had difficulty in distinguishing an ad placed by a private agency (though there is a requirement that agencies identify themselves, which some fulfilled by name only) from one placed by an employer.

Thus, because of their organization within the section and the haphazard construction of the ads themselves, it appears that help wanted ads in the two papers studied have failed to reach their full potential as a mechanism either for informed decision making or for job seeker self-screening. Not only has their format required the job seeker to put more effort into their use than should have been necessary, but also the ads themselves have fallen short of providing the critical information elements needed by job seekers for informed decision making. (A discussion of want ad section composition from a broader perspective is presented in chapter 5.)

Second Conclusion

With public policy strongly opposed to discrimination in hiring because of race, sex, and age, it is worth asking to what extent employer preferences on those grounds are signaled in the want ads. Sex designations related to traditional job roles were prevalent, although this varied sharply in time and by city. On the other hand, race and age designations occurred infrequently. The sophistication which the structure of the want ads required of the job seeking user added to the dilemma of *inexperienced new entrants to the labor market.*

1. What were the ways in which ads designated sex? "You can get it done in time to serve your husband's dinner," stated in an ad for a receptionist, offered no difficulty to coders. The ad clearly intended that job for a woman.

The most dramatic change that took place in the two newspapers between 1968 and 1972 occurred in the sex designation of jobs. In September 1968, both papers listed all jobs by column headings which designated "male" jobs, "female" jobs, and both. By September 1972 the column headings were eliminated. The United States Supreme Court ruling of June 1973, which declared sex designating arrangements of help wanted ads illegal, was a major affirmation of the evolving change in the status of women in the labor market.[2] This ruling may further alter the ways in which sex is designated within help wanted ads.

Our study provided some insight into the ways, at one point in time, in which sex preferences continued to be apparent in want ads. The coding system was designed to isolate and codify four methods by which requirements or preferences by sex may appear in want ads, in addition to "none":

(1) *Stated:* The ad clearly asked for a man or a woman.

(2) *Column headings:* This applied only to newspapers coded prior to September 1972.

(3) *Implied in job title:* This code was applied to ads with titles such as "salesman," "girl Friday," "waitress," "counterman," unless the text specifically contradicted the sex implied by the title.

(4) *Implied in text:* This code was applied to ads containing such comments as "must be attractive" or "will be required to make coffee to keep the men happy." (Coders agreed that advertisements for "topless dancers" implied jobs for women only.)

Coders were carefully trained to refrain from assuming the requirements by sex of a job based on the traditional male-female roles in work.

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[2] Pittsburgh Press Co. *vs* Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations *et al.*, argued March 20, 1973, was decided on June 21, 1973. A fuller discussion of the effect of this ruling is presented in chapters 5 and 6.

In 1968, nearly 99 percent of the 2,430 jobs listed in the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* were identified by sex; in Salt Lake City, approximately 88 percent of the 589 jobs were so designated in the *Tribune*. In 1972, despite the removal of headings, the *Chronicle-Examiner* continued to designate sex for 15 percent of the 2,377 jobs listed in the sample editions. The corresponding figure for the Salt Lake *Tribune* was 33 percent of 990 jobs.

When the "help wanted—male" and "help wanted—female" designations were removed from the Salt Lake City newspaper's help wanted columns in 1972, the change consisted merely of removing the words "male" and "female." The breaks, the headings, and the numbers continued with precisely the same types of jobs under each classification. Jobs that were formerly headed by "female" and "male" were still grouped together. Removal of the sex designations in no way altered the organization of jobs or redistributed them in the columns. In San Francisco, all of the jobs were rearranged into an alphabetical list by occupational title.

Although it has generally been the position of newspaper publishers that they are not responsible for the enforcement of the law, it is interesting to conjecture what further effect, if any, the 1973 Supreme Court ruling may have on the arrangement of help wanted ads.

2. What jobs were designated for what sex? Analysis of classified ads historically provides some insight into the way in which ads both reveal and influence the role of women in the work force. The demands of the women's movement to alter such traditional job assignments, culminating in the Supreme Court decision, may be more comprehensible when one examines the distribution of sex-designated jobs. Sylvia Porter, in her article regarding sex discrimination, quotes a report by the Vermont Public Interest Group as follows: "If women are denied an equal opportunity at the very beginning of their quest for work, they are even less likely to get a break further down the road."[3]

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[3] Sylvia Porter, "Sex Discrimination Still Rampant," San Francisco *Chronicle* (April 26, 1974).

In Table 3-1, it is clear that in almost every instance, the subordinate, lower paid, sex-designated jobs advertised were predominantly relegated to women, with a singular preference for men in the higher level jobs. Whether one compared professional accountants to bookkeeping and clerical occupations, or looked at the data processing professional jobs and compared them to the clerical keypunch jobs, or compared the sales jobs to the sales solicitation situations for which women are sought, the jobs with less status, less income, and less opportunity for advancement called mainly and specifically for women. Even in the medical profession, all of the jobs designated for women were for registered nurses or licensed practical nurses, whereas the jobs for doctors, dentists, and technicians asked for men.

The implications of Table 3-1 are echoed in a complaint filed with the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations by the National Organization for Women (NOW). To support their complaint, members of the organization clipped ads placed by a private employment agency in the January 4, 1970, edition of the Sunday Pittsburgh *Press*. The two ads are similar in appearance, with one headed "Jobs – Male Interest" and the other headed "Jobs – Female Interest." Position titles and salaries are listed. The first entry in each ad is for academic instructors; the salaries are the same, $13,000. In each case the second entry is for accountants, but the salary listed in the "male interest" ad is $10,000, while the salary for the same job title in the "female interest" ad is $6,000. The remaining jobs listed (approximately fifteen) are different in each case, but the salary ranges are significant. Salaries under "male interest" range from $7,200 to $30,000, while salaries under "female interest" are all between $4,200 and $6,720.

The evidence submitted by NOW to the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations is reflected by the sex-reference tabulations of the study conducted by Olympus Research Corporation. Both lead to the same conclusion: The organization and treatment of want ad material may serve to aid the practice of illegally designating sex preferences, thus perpetuating the lower status of women in the work force.

3. To what degree did want ads designate race, age, and educational requirements? References to race have

Table 3-1

Distribution of Sex-Designated Jobs in San Francisco and Salt Lake City by Selected Occupations

Occupation	Male	Female
Engineer	100	0
Medical professional (includes registered and licensed practical nurses, technicians, doctors, dentists, and assistants)	7	43
Managers (includes managers of retail, food service, data process, office; directors; administrators; buyers)	133	16
Office occupations (includes clerk-typists, secretaries, stenos, "girl Friday," general office clerks)	39	511
Telephone operators and receptionists	1	97
Data processing professional and technical (includes programmers, systems analysts, computer operators)	75	11
Data processing, clerical-keypunch operator	4	55
Accounting professionals (accountants, auditors, comptrollers, controllers)	132	16
Bookkeeping, clerical occupations (includes bookkeepers, cash register and other machine operators, clerks, accounting clerks)	19	97
Sales, solicitation (includes door-to-door, telephone solicitation, independent contract-type sales such as cosmetics)	14	32
Sales	299	33
Machinists, mechanics	57	1
Construction occupations and auto body	77	0

virtually disappeared from the columns of either newspaper. *No* ads were noted that overtly or covertly made reference to racial requirements.

Coders were required to record *age* factors, whether they were specifically stated, implied with words such as "young," "retired," "mature," and so forth. Only 6 percent of the jobs made such references.

Requirements regarding any level of education were coded only when the ad specifically mentioned such a requirement. No assumptions were made by virtue of the occupation. A little more than 6 percent made such mention.

4. Of what use were want ads to inexperienced workers? Approximately a third of the jobs specifically called for some type of experience, either by length of time, in a specific skill, or general. Nearly 10 percent of the jobs specifically stated that no experience was required, and the employer would be willing to provide the training. The large bulk of these jobs in both cities was commission sales jobs. The question, then, is whether the remainder, the majority of the jobs advertised, require experience or not. This presents no dilemma for job seekers with experience in the job situation advertised; they can safely assume their qualifications are adequate.

Instead, the onus falls upon inexperienced workers who are also inexperienced in reading and interpreting the particular language of want ads. It is a fair assumption that most of the employers who placed want ads providing no qualifications information had a mental image of the skills and background of an applicant they would want to hire. But how is the inexperienced job seeker to pick out the few ads of employers who genuinely have no preferences regarding experience from the many ads placed by employers who have qualifications in mind but failed to express them? The answer would seem to be only by a trial and error process which adds to the dilemma of those who are seeking their first attachment to the world of work.

Third Conclusion

Whatever their inadequacies, want ads were used extensively by unemployed job seekers surveyed in the employment service offices with a considerable degree of *successful* matches. A higher percentage of job seekers in Salt Lake City obtained work through want ads than in San Francisco. Yet the attitude of job seekers surveyed was characterized by ambivalence; they were attracted to the want ad pages as a convenient source of local *job information*, but many were quite critical of the ads as a *job search* tool.

1. How valuable were want ads to job seekers? Job seekers interviewed in local employment service offices in San Francisco and Salt Lake City made extensive use of want ads in their search for work. Two thirds of the 846 job seekers surveyed in both cities responded that they had used want ads in searching for work during the past five years. Of these, approximately a fourth said that they had actually found jobs through the want ads. The respondents reported that during the same five-year period they had obtained a combined total of 2,186 jobs. Of these, 408 (or 18.5 percent) were obtained by responding to want ads.

Want ads appear to have been even more useful to Salt Lake City job seekers than to their counterparts in San Francisco. Nearly 30 percent of the Salt Lake City job seekers found jobs by responding to want ads; the corresponding figure for San Francisco was about 23 percent.

In San Francisco, while 72 percent of the white job seekers surveyed had responded to want ads, only 60 percent of black job seekers, 48 percent of chicano job seekers, and 45 percent of other nonwhite (mostly Asian) job seekers had used them. Among those using the ads, there was a great contrast in success rates between white and Asian job seekers and those of blacks and chicanos. Forty-seven percent of the job seekers of other nonwhite races had found a job through the ads, in contrast to 41 percent of the white job seekers using them. At the other end of the spectrum, only 21 percent of the chicano job seekers and 15 percent of the black job seekers using ads had success with them.

Occupationally, the jobs most frequently obtained through want ads were in the clerical (20.3 percent), service (22.7 percent), and blue-collar or other (22.2 percent) categories (by adding sales [12.5 percent], 78 percent of the jobs obtained through want ads are accounted for). In Salt Lake City, these four categories accounted for about 82 percent of the jobs obtained through want ads; the corresponding figure for San Francisco was 78 percent. Thus despite obvious differences in the two labor markets, jobs obtained through want ads were almost the same for both cities.

2. What opinions did the job seekers surveyed hold about want ads? Job seekers were asked: What is your opinion about help wanted ads as a tool for finding work? This was asked of *all* respondents, whether or not they had used want ads. Their responses were grouped into three categories: positive, negative, and equivocal (not clear). Respondents many times offered a variety of opinions, each of which was tallied separately.

A sizable portion of all respondents in both cities were unequivocally positive about the value of want ads, with respondents in Salt Lake City more positive than their counterparts in San Francisco. In both areas, criticisms increased considerably among those respondents who had actually attempted to use ads.

There were marked differences between the opinions of San Francisco and Salt Lake City job seekers:

a. In Salt Lake City, nearly 44 percent of the respondents expressed positive opinions of want ads; the corresponding figure for San Francisco was only 32 percent.

b. In San Francisco, well over half of the respondents expressed negative opinions; the corresponding figure for Salt Lake City was only 42 percent.

In keeping with their lower success rate in using them, blacks and chicanos in San Francisco had lower opinions of want ads than other minorities (mainly Asian) and whites. Nearly two-thirds of the black respondents and 54 percent of the chicanos expressed negative opinions of want ads. Moreover, only 26 percent of the blacks expressed positive opinions (the rest were equivocal).

The longer the applicant was out of work, the lower his or her opinion of want ads was. Half of the San Francisco respondents who were out of work for less than three months expressed negative opinions of want ads; the corresponding figure for Salt Lake City was 39 percent. However, in both cities, 60 percent of the respondents who were out of work for more than three months expressed negative opinions. It is fair to assume that all job matching mechanisms used would be regarded with a jaundiced view by the latter group.

3. What were the reasons given by respondents for positive and negative opinions? The specific reasons given by respondents were tallied and grouped into categories (it should be remembered that there were more opinions than respondents). Approximately 399 specific reasons were given in San Francisco (81 percent of them negative) and 213 in Salt Lake City (77 percent negative). The negative reasons were grouped into three categories: (a) objection to the *ad* itself, (b) objection to the *process* of responding to ads, and (c) objection to the *jobs* listed in the ads. Under each of these categories, there were three to five subcategories. Positive reasons were also grouped into three categories: (a) convenience, (b) personal testimony ("it worked for me"), and (c) miscellaneous (motivates, provides free choice, value to newcomers in the area, and so forth). The results were as follows:

a. *Positive reasons:* In Salt Lake City, 23 percent of the reasons were positive; 19 percent in San Francisco. The most popular positive reason was "convenience" in both cities, although the "miscellaneous" category was equally popular in Salt Lake City.

b. *Negative reasons:* In San Francisco, 81 percent of the reasons were negative; 77 percent in Salt Lake City. Also in San Francisco, the negative reasons were equally distributed over the three negative categories; in Salt Lake City, most of the objections were to the ad itself and to the jobs listed in the ads. Relatively few Salt Lake City objections were in the "process" category.

c. *Specific negative reasons:* The specific negative reasons given by respondents varied somewhat between the two cities. The percentages listed below are of the total reasons given in each city (both positive and negative).

In San Francisco, the following negative reasons appeared most frequently:

a. Position always filled, too many responses, too much competition (16.8 percent)

b. Misleading, false advertising, "come-on" (13 percent)

c. Skills and experience requirements too high (9.3 percent)

d. Inadequate information regarding job, requirements of employer (8.8 percent)

In Salt Lake City, the following negative opinions appeared most frequently:

a. Jobs do not fit skills and needs of individual (13.2 percent)

b. Inadequate information regarding job, requirements of employer (10.8 percent)

c. Dominated by private agencies (9.9 percent)

d. Jobs low paid, poor quality (9.3 percent)

e. Position always filled; false advertising; "come-on" (7.5 percent each)

Three of the reasons – too much competition, misleading advertising, and inadequate information – were prominent in both cities. It is somewhat surprising to note that "dominance by private agencies" was an important negative reason in Salt Lake City, even though there were many more agencies advertising in the San Francisco paper. Possibly job seekers were reacting to the change in policy instituted by the *Tribune*, which allowed private agencies to advertise in the regular sections of the want ads. Dominance by private agencies was viewed with much less hostility in San Francisco, where private agency ads were segregated, thus allowing job seekers to skip the agency ads if they so desired.

The incidence of complaints about misleading advertising was much higher among those respondents who were interviewed personally and were provided with an opportunity to describe actual experiences with ads than among the total sample of all respondents, including those who had never used want ads. Misleading advertising constituted approximately 20 percent of the negative reasons given by interviewees; the corresponding figure for the total sample was slightly over 10 percent. Since those interviewed were recounting specific incidents, their answers, while not necessarily representative of the total sample, were instructive to the research staff. Thus their response led to an investigation of laws and enforcement pertaining to want ads which is dealt with in chapter 6.

4

Help Wanted Ads and Local Labor Markets

Do help wanted ads reflect local labor market activities in the survey cities? Whether this question can be answered depends upon the amount and quality of information that can be extracted from want ads and on whether local labor market information comparable to want ad data exists. The question can also be asked (but was not specifically asked by this study): Are want ads more reflective or less reflective of local labor market activities than other sources of information about job openings? Future research, it is hoped, will address this question.

The findings regarding help wanted ads and the labor market are arranged under three questions: (1) what local labor market information could be extracted from help wanted ads, (2) what published sources of local labor market data existed whose comparison to want ad data could add to the tools now available to manpower planners, and (3) how did the two sources of information compare with one another? The content study, described in chapter 3, was the source for identifying labor market information that could or could not be extracted from want ads. (It should be pointed out that the study was of necessity limited to the city. It could not extend to the SMSA because in the San Francisco area, the SMSA included another major daily and Sunday paper with a high percentage of jobs duplicated in both papers. Thus it was not possible to incorporate all want ads within the SMSA. This problem should alert future researchers.)

Data were gathered so that fluctuations in want ads, by occupation and industry, could be compared with other local labor market indices, by performing a "five-year overview" of the Sunday want ad sections of the two newspapers for the period 1968–72. Twenty Sunday editions of each newspaper (or a total of forty editions) were analyzed for the five-year period. Included in the forty editions were 20,683 job titles, 14,004 in the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* and 6,679 in the Salt Lake City *Tribune*. The occupational breakdown of job titles appearing in the two newspapers provides a vivid glimpse into the economies of the two cities. San Francisco, a highly unionized, nonindustrial "paper" center for government and industry understandably advertised for more white-collar and high-skill professional workers than Salt Lake City. Of all jobs listed in the *Chronicle-Examiner*, 18 percent were for professional and technical workers; the corresponding figure for Salt Lake City was only 8.5 percent. In San Francisco, 75 percent of all ads were for jobs in the following white-collar occupations: professional, technical, managerial, and administrative; in Salt Lake City, the split between white- and blue-collar occupations was nearly even. The only occupational group that was equally represented in both cities is sales, which accounted for slightly under a fourth of all the ads (see Appendix Tables A-3 and A-12).

In addition to the content study and five-year overview, to supplement information regarding private employment agencies emanating from analyses of want ads, we interviewed, in a group session, officials of a northern California association of private employment agencies, several managers of San Francisco Bay Area employment agencies, and a state legislative representative for private employment agencies.

Overall Conclusion

The occupational composition of local employer ads in the Salt Lake or San Francisco newspaper help wanted section was more reflective of the white-collar portion of the job market than of blue-collar openings. This pattern was even more pronounced in private agency ads. Because the inclusion of private agency ads would produce a distorted picture of the labor market, only that portion of the want ad section containing ads *placed by local employers* would probably be reflective of local labor market conditions. Information provided about job titles advertised in the two newspapers – i.e., specifics on various aspects of a particular job – was not sufficient for manpower planning decisions. The local employment data available for Salt Lake City and San Francisco contained insufficient detail to serve as a reliable economic indicator. Even so, the study failed to establish that want ad data add useful information as indicators of local employment trends to that already available to manpower planners. This is not to say that a study using newspaper editions from a larger sample of labor market areas (with the areas chosen for adequacy of local economic data series), and for Sundays coinciding with economic turning points, would not come up with more conclusive data. Such a study should be conducted if possible, rather than to leave this small attempt as the last word on the subject.

Series A: Help Wanted Ad Data

1. What type of advertiser occupied the want ad section? There are three major sources of revenue in the help wanted section:

a. Local employers

b. Private employment agencies

c. National advertisers (bordered ads)

To determine the relative share of the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* and Salt Lake *Tribune* want ad sections likely to be reflective of local job openings, the research staff made three measurements of volume of advertising placed by each kind of advertiser:

a. Number of ads

b. Amount of space taken by each kind of advertiser

c. Number of job titles

These measurements, as shown in Table 4-1, demonstrated the greater significance of private agency want ad advertising

Table 4-1
Extent of Private Agency Advertising in Both Cities (1968–72)

	Percentage of		
City	Total Number of Ads	Total Inches of Space	Total Number of Job Titles
San Francisco	23.4%	34.6%	63.0%
Salt Lake City	13.7%	11.9%[a]	27.0%

[a] These figures are based on an examination of the September 1968 and the September 1972 editions of both newspapers. By September 1972, the Salt Lake *Tribune* had changed its policy to permit interspersal of private agency ads, making a measurement of total inches of space in that paper unfeasible. Consequently, the measurement of total inches of space in the Salt Lake *Tribune* should be regarded as incomplete.

in the San Francisco job market than in Salt Lake City. In San Francisco, private agency ads alone accounted for 23 percent of the total number of ads in the "help wanted" section, in comparison to only 14 percent of the ads in the Salt Lake *Tribune*. In San Francisco, private agency ads took up nearly 35 percent of the space in the want ad section. Private agency advertising volume is discussed in further detail in chapter 5.

When national bordered advertising representing mostly out-of-area jobs is added to private agency ads, many of which are duplicates of employer ads, a sharp contrast between the composition of the ad sections of the two papers results. Figure 4.1 provides a dramatic presentation of this contrast: Agency and "bordered ads" accounted for nearly two-thirds of the help wanted section in the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* but only 21 percent of the space in the Salt Lake *Tribune*.

2. How much useful job market information can be extracted from want ads? Manpower planners, scanning the want ad section in either of the study cities for job market information on which to base program decisions, would facili-

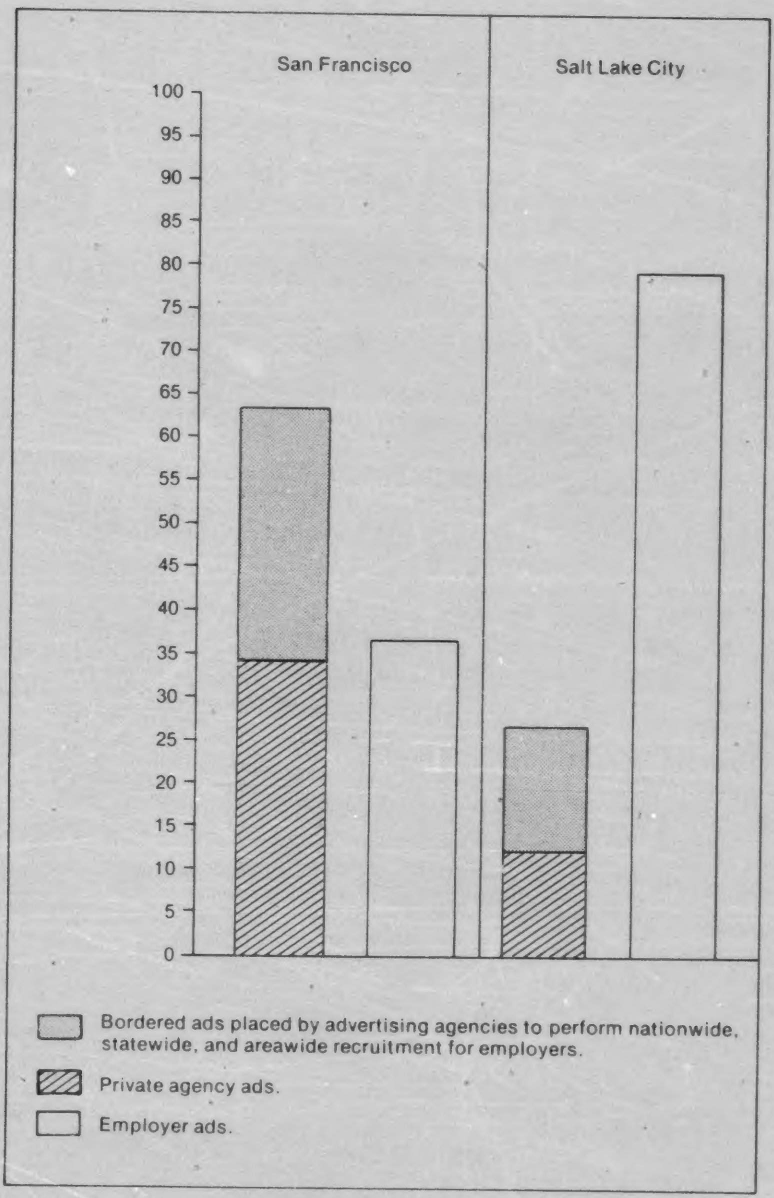

Figure 4.1 Space Occupied by Employer, Private Agency, and Bordered Ads

tate their search by concentrating upon employer ads since these contain more key elements of job market information than private agency ads. Table 4-2 presents a profile of missing information in both types of ads in either of the study cities. (Missing critical information elements are analyzed from a broader perspective in chapter 5.) Occupation of the opening, the most critical piece of information to the planner, generally was available for both types of ads. The location of the job advertised was generally discernable in employer-placed ads but not in private agency ads.

Wage information was the one element of job market information which private agency ads contained more often than employer ads. However, such information could not be considered reliable. Private agencies, as a matter of policy, advertise those high-wage jobs which are apt to attract the largest number of well-qualified applicants. Employers, on the other hand, often refrain from listing wage information either to prevent potential applicants from screening themselves out because of what may appear to them to be low wages, or because they would rather negotiate wage rates with individual applicants.

Yet many elements of information critical to manpower planning decisions were missing from employer ads as well. In both cities, industry information was lacking for about a third of the job titles in employer ads, and the employer was not identified for well over half of the job titles in employer ads. Any comparison of want ad information with local industry trends and prevailing wage data would be impaired by the scarcity of such information in the ads themselves. A further hindrance to use of want ad information as a planning tool by itself was the spotty occurrence of information on job duties, qualifications information such as experience, educational or skill requirements, or the need for a license or bond.

Thus the information provided by the want ads about job titles advertised in the two newspapers was by itself insufficient to meet manpower program needs.

4. What was the occupational distribution of want ads by type of advertiser? Of all agency ads, 83 percent were in white-collar occupations, with 50 percent in the clerical cluster

Table 4-2
Percentage of Advertised Job Titles for Which Labor Market Information Is Missing

	Percentage Unknown in			
	San Francisco Ads		Salt Lake City Ads	
Factor	Employer	Agency	Employer	Agency
Location of jobs	7.3%	92.1%	6.7%	91.5%
Occupation	2.5	9.0	3.8	7.9
Industry	29.0	85.5	35.0	91.9
Employer identity	59.0	100.0	49.7	100.0
Wage information	85.5	10.2	84.6	32.1

alone. Only 7.7 percent of agency jobs were in blue-collar and service occupations (Table 4-3).

Employer ads favored job openings in sales and other white-collar occupations, but also provided *some* representation of service and blue-collar openings. To include a count of private agency ads along with employer ads in an estimate of job market activity would only have served to distort further the pattern of underrepresentation of blue-collar and service openings. Manpower planning personnel attempting to use want ads in the decision-making process should be alerted to this potential difficulty.

5. How does private agency policy concerning want ads affect their usefulness to labor market analysts? The general consensus of agency representatives interviewed in San Francisco regarding their want ad policies was:

a. Private agencies are in the business of selling employment services to job seekers.

b. Their primary tools for advertising their business and obtaining potential applicants (other than the yellow pages of the phone book) are the classified help wanted ad sections of daily newspapers.

c. State law in both states provides that every job listed

Table 4-3

Comparison of Occupational Distribution of Jobs Advertised in Want Ads by Private Agencies with Those Advertised by Employers

(Both papers)

Occupation	Percentage of Jobs Advertised by Private Agencies	Percentage of Jobs Advertised by Employers
Professional	18.1%	17.3%
Managers, administrators, directors	7.2	8.4
Clerical	48.7	16.9
Sales	9.4	18.2
Service	4.0	20.0
Blue collar, skilled	2.1	10.3
Blue collar, other	1.6	5.4
Unknown	8.9%	3.5%

in the want ads by private agencies must have a corresponding live job order on file in the offices of the agencies, and all agencies are subjected to state audits at the discretion of the state. However, private agency operators pointed out that perfect compliance is often impossible because of the volatile nature of jobs and newspaper deadlines. For example, in San Francisco the deadline for Sunday copy is Thursday afternoon. The job can be filled by Thursday evening, although the ad would still appear in the following Sunday paper.

d. Private agencies do not list all of their job orders in want ads; in fact the number of job orders listed is usually a small percentage of the total job orders that agencies have on file.

e. Those jobs selected for want ads by private agencies are apt to be in large occupations which have the highest number of listings within the agency. Only the most attractive jobs are advertised to attract the highest number of applicants in order to "sell" the less attracttive jobs to overflow applicants.

f. Most private agencies advertise year-round in the want ads, and most subscribe to a "rate holder" ad on a contract basis; e.g., a contract to hold three lines per issue for five to six years. In some agencies, the counselors run "spot ads."

g. Private agency budgets reflected in the size of the ad fluctuate according to whether the flow of applicants is adequate to fill job orders on file. If agencies have many jobs but few qualified applicants, the *size* of the agency ad is apt to increase. However, the *number* of ads placed by agencies remains relatively static.

The agency representatives emphasized that private employment agencies are in the business of providing employment services to job seekers. Their ads therefore have two purposes: (1) to find qualified applicants for existing job orders, and (2) to increase the flow of applicants into their offices. "Best jobs" are listed not only to recruit qualified applicants but also to attract the largest possible flow of applicants.

A percentage of the private agency jobs are often listed with more than one agency, either because employers initiate multiple listings or because more than one employment agency solicits the same employer. This duplicating factor, together with the fact that jobs listed in the want ads by private agencies constituted only a small percentage of the total job openings held by private agencies, made it impossible to determine how many different *jobs*, as opposed to different *ads*, were represented by any edition of the classified help wanted ads.

In order to use private agency ads successfully for measuring job market activity controlled by this kind of intermediary, the research would have to obtain answers to the following questions:

a. What percentage of a private agency's total job openings does it advertise?

b. How many jobs are listed by more than one agency?

c. In which occupations and industries are the "hidden" private agency job orders (those not listed in the want ads)?

The researchers found it impossible to obtain such information. Agency representatives considered such data private and beyond the prerogatives of a publicly sponsored research effort. Thus to the extent that agency ads dominate classified help wanted ad sections, the ability of researchers to determine the extent to which want ads reflect local labor market conditions is eroded. It *is* possible to test the sensivity of agency ads, in terms of sheer volume, to fluctuating unemployment rates, but if the jobs listed by agencies are combined with those listed by employers and are compared to other labor market indicators, serious distortions are bound to result. For this reason, agency ads were eliminated from the five-year overview for analyses other than sheer volume.

6. How did newspaper policy affect volume measurements of ads? The San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* required that all private agency ads appear in a section of the help wanted pages headed "agencies." Until mid-1971, the Salt Lake *Tribune* also required that agency ads be separated and categorized. At that point the *Tribune*'s policy changed to permit agencies to advertise in the regular sections of help wanted ad columns, provided that they identify themselves as private employment agencies. The effect of this change of policy on the composition of the *Tribune*'s help wanted ad pages was quite dramatic. Table 4-4 indicates the changes which occurred.

The number of agency ads quadrupled over the five-year period, whereas the space occupied by agency ads increased by slightly less than twice the space occupied in 1968. This indicates that after the policy change, agencies opted for an increased number of small ads. Before the policy change, agencies had contracted for a small number of large ads. If agency ads have a distorting effect on help wanted ads as an indicator of local labor market activities, then the change in policy instituted by the *Tribune* weakened its classified help wanted ad

Table 4-4

Volume of Private Employment Agency Ads by Percentage of Total Numbers of Ads and of Total Inches in the Salt Lake *Tribune*

(1968–72)

	Percentage by Years				
Category	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Number	6.0%	6.3%	9.1%	15.1%	24.0%
Inches	6.7%	8.0%	14.4%	18.8%	11.9%

[a] Incomplete.

section as an indicator of the Salt Lake City labor market. One can imagine, for example, what would happen if the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* instituted the same policy as the *Tribune*. The number of ads would increase enormously, but the significance of the increase, in terms of local labor market developments, would be zero. Thus in measuring the distorting effect of private employment agency ads on help wanted ad sections as indicators of local labor market conditions, individual newspapers' policies regarding agency ads must be taken into consideration.

Some evidence has come to light since the completion of the study that newspapers throughout the country are moving toward the Salt Lake City model regarding private agency ad desegregation. Agency representatives argue that since the removal of headings by sex, continued definition by an "agency" heading is discriminatory. In view of the revenue they provide newspapers, private agencies insist that they should be permitted to intersperse ads. If this is indeed the direction of classified sections, the sensitivity of the Conference Board indicators which are based upon a count of ads and lines may be reduced unintentionally.

Series B: Local Labor Market Data

At the local level, manpower planners decry the lack of well-developed indicators of local economic activity. Such indicators of industrial or occupational trends in a particular area might aid manpower planners in selecting occupations for training or give them more lead time in implementing anticyclical programs. If reliably leading, they also might be used to trigger fiscal programs at the local level at an earlier point in time than the method at present in use. However, no single employment data series was available with both occupational and industrial breakouts at the local level against which to compare help wanted advertising volume. As a result, such an attempt to test want ad data as this type of indicator was by default. It emerged from the failure of those generating employment statistics to provide employment series data beyond those needed either at the operating level or the federal funding level, although needs existed at other planning levels.

1. What type of labor market activity was reflected in help wanted ads? Help wanted ads are a reflection of the demand side of the labor market. They indicate in particular an unmet demand which employers hope to meet by advertising in the want ads. The type of labor market data appropriate for comparison with want ad information is that which indicates a need for active recruiting on the part of employers. In terms of existing labor market information, this would be current or future job openings or "job vacancy" measurements.

2. Was job vacancy information available at the local level? Job vacancy data, if available at all, were so incomplete as to be of limited value for comparison purposes with want ad information. For San Francisco, only a few employers were surveyed as part of a statewide Bureau of Labor Statistics sample for national aggregation. In Salt Lake City, vacancy statistics existed only for the manufacturing and mining industries. For these two industries, the data were preliminary and had not been validated. Moreover, occupational vacancy information in this untested form was available only on a semiannual basis for a very short span of years.

We considered constructing a local vacancy matrix by industry and occupation based on national data, but a search for such data, and attempts to locate such a matrix constructed by others, proved futile.

3. In the absence of job vacancy data, what other local labor market information could be used to make comparisons with help wanted ad data? Lacking the resources to conduct a vacancy survey spanning all industries and providing occupational information, we turned to other measures of local labor market information that might provide some insight into fluctuations in job vacancies or into labor market activity related to job vacancies. The search revealed the surrogates discussed in the following paragraphs of this section.

a. *Unemployment rates:* Studies by the National Industrial Conference Board have shown nationally that unemployment rates hold an inverse relationship to job vacancies.[1] Unemployment rates are a measure of an excess supply of labor, rather than a measure of the unmet demand for labor as vacancies are. However, labor market forces operate in such a way that low levels of vacancies occur during periods of high unemployment, and vice versa. Thus if help wanted ads truly reflect local vacancies, it should be possible to demonstrate an inverse relationship between the volume of local help wanted ads in the local newspaper and local unemployment rates.

During periods when unemployment rates are high and when the demand for labor is lower, fewer job opportunities exist from expansion or replacement needs. This is reflected by a lowered volume of help wanted advertising. In addition, with fewer job alternatives available, turnover of employees is lower. At such times, the number of job vacancies would be much lower than during periods of low unemployment, when the conditions would be reversed.

b. *Total unemployment:* In San Francisco, total unemployment was reported for the SMSA; in Salt Lake City, total unemployment data were available by county as well as by SMSA. However, in *neither* city were there breakdowns of the information by occupation or industry; nor was total unemployment information available for these cities.

A potential substitute for total unemployment data was unemployment insurance claims. Of the data available (new claims, initial claims, weeks claimed, and payments), only new claims provided information by both city and SMSA and for occupational groups. Of the claims information available on unemployment insurance, only the payment series was broken down by industry and then in such detail as would necessitate aggregation by major industry groups. (This was beyond the resources available for this study.)

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[1] National Industrial Conference Board, *The Conference Board's New Index of Help Wanted Advertising*, Technical Paper No. 16 (New York, 1964).

The level of new claims, while not strictly comparable to unemployment rates, nevertheless rises and falls with them. Thus if want ads are an accurate reflection of local vacancies by occupation, there should be an inverse relationship between new unemployment insurance claims by occupation and the volume of help wanted ads by occupation.

c. *Employment data:* Employment data, which were available for major industry groups, show changes (or lack of changes) in the employment structure of the labor market over time. Industries which have increases in employment are likely to be recruiting relatively large numbers of new employees. Declining or static industries, on the other hand, will have less need to recruit. If want ads are a major recruitment mechanism, changes in employment by industry should be reflected in the volume of help wanted ads by industry.

For the two SMSAs, employment statistics by industry were readily available. The only comparable information available for the two cities was unemployment insurance-covered employment, which excluded government and nonprofit employing units during the 1968–72 time period.

d. *Average weekly hours:* Average weekly hours information is an economic lead indicator. Before hiring or laying off workers, employers are likely to adjust the hours of their existing work forces. Accompanying these adjustments may be the employer's realization that his or her recruiting needs are changing in the face of business contraction or expansion. Thus after or concurrent with a rise in average weekly hours, recruitment (and thus the volume of help wanted ads) should also rise. Either before or at the same time that hours of workers already on the payroll are dropped, employers reduce their recruitment efforts.

Average weekly hours information was compiled only for manufacturing in San Francisco and for manufacturing, mining, wholesale, and retail trade in Salt Lake City.

4. What available local labor market information was rejected for comparisons with help wanted ads? Census data provide a picture of the occupational composition of the work force for one static point in time – 1970. This represents a "stock" of employed workers. Such data cannot be used as a proxy for job vacancies which are influenced by the differential effect of economic conditions on particular occupations. It cannot be assumed that job vacancies occur in direct proportion to employment found in an occupation. Want ads reflect the flow of persons to job vacancies. For similar reasons, a comparison between want ads and the industrial distribution of the work force at one point in time is unproductive. For these reasons, this type of analysis was rejected. (In our final report to the U.S. Department of Labor, both comparisons were made and conclusions summarized. Because we now believe these conclusions may be trivial, they are not included.)

Series C: Comparisons of Help Wanted Ad Data with Existing Local Labor Market Information

1. What comparisons were made? To test the degree to which help wanted ads reflect local labor market activities, we made the following comparisons.

a. *Total volume:* Fluctuations in the total volume (in terms of numbers of ads, inches of space, and job titles) of help wanted ads in the two cities for the dates studied were compared with fluctuations in local unemployment rates over the five-year period 1968–72. The findings were broken down as follows: (1) by employer ads, (2) by private agency ads, and (3) by "bordered" ads.

b. *Occupational claims data:* Fluctuations in the volume of help wanted ads by occupation were compared with the occupational distribution of new unemployment insurance claims over the five-year period.

c. *Employment data by industry:* Fluctuations in the volume of help wanted ads by industry were compared to fluctuations in employment changes by industry over the five-year period.

d. *Average weekly hours by industry data:* Fluctuations in the volume of manufacturing help wanted ads in San Francisco – and for manufacturing, mining, retail, and wholesale trade in Salt Lake City – were compared with fluctuations in average weekly hours in the two areas.

2. What problems were encountered in making these comparisons? One major problem, already described, was finding local employment data series with sufficient detail to make a comparison with volume of help wanted advertising which would be potentially of use to manpower planners. Although four different employment data series were compared to help wanted advertising volume, a full range of comparisons, including breakouts by industry and occupation, could not be made for any of them. In addition to the fragmentary nature of the local employment data available, the correlation possibilities were limited by the fact that only two cities not necessarily typical of U.S. metropolitan areas were studied.

A third limitation upon this part of the study related to the five-year period for which want ads were analyzed. While a five-year period in most cases would contain enough economic turning points to offer a definite indication as to whether the want ads from that period were a valid cyclical indicator, this period of time contained remarkably few. Project resources unfortunately did not permit coding of further newspaper editions to extend the length of the study period. Since few of the want ad dates (which were selected for availability of newspapers) coincided with economic turning points, the correlations obtained were more with seasonal or irregular variations in the economic data than with cyclical changes in labor market conditions.

3. What were the results? Results were identified which related to unemployment rates, employment data, unemployment insurance, and average weekly hours.

a. *Unemployment rates:* Some significant correlation coefficients for the number of ads placed by employers, the total number of ads, and the total number of jobs advertised – all volume measures – and unemployment rates were obtained. While correlation coefficients of -0.7 were obtained for these variables, the pattern of correlation of data in San Francisco was not the same as that in Salt Lake City. In San Francisco, high correlations were obtained with changes in want ad data leading changes in unemployment rates. In Salt Lake City, high correlations were obtained with unemployment rates and want ad data coinciding in time. Whatever the possibilities such correlations suggest for future research, the pattern of correlation obtained was not consistent between SMSAS and thus did not seem significant in itself.

b. *Employment data:* The most consistent results of the comparison between help wanted ad data and employment by industry occurred for retail trade (Table 4-5). It appears that the one-quarter lead for want ad changes corresponds with the lead time employed by retail advertisers in recruiting employees. This is not surprising since major retailers often hire well in advance of swings in their sales.

In Salt Lake City, changes in want ad advertising and employment for the service, transportation, and other utilities industries appear to have occurred at the same time. With regard to service – it can be hypothesized that this high turnover industry is able to recruit on fairly quick notice and draw on a pool of workers who are either looking for different jobs or are no longer in the labor force but are willing to reenter.

Only in San Francisco were significant correlation coefficient values achieved for total help wanted ads by industry. It can only be concluded that, in Salt Lake City, industries contributing to changes in employment are not as well represented in want ads as they are in San Francisco.

c. *Unemployment insurance claims:* All help wanted ad occupational groups, except professional and technical or managerial, correlated significantly with unemployment insurance occupational data. As claims in these occupations went up, the volume of want ads for those occupations went down. Unfortunately some were related with want ads leading the claims variable and others were related concurrently. Differences in employer recruitment timing for different occupations may explain these differences in the pattern of correlation.

Table 4-5

Correlation Coefficients for Selected Want Ad Variables and Employment Changes by Industry[a]

(Both cities and SMSAs)

Employment Variables in Want Ads	San Francisco				Salt Lake City	
	r	City Set[c]	r[b]	SMSA Set[c]	r	SMSA Set[c]
Transportation					+0.7144	CD
Retail	+0.6190	LD	+0.7508	LD	+0.9213	LD
Service	d		+0.6844	CD	+0.6802	CD
Total—all industries	+0.7822	LD	+0.7505	LD	d	

[a] Significant at the 99 percent level for the city of San Francisco and its SMSA and for the Salt Lake City SMSA.

[b] Significant at the 99.9 percent level.

[c] CD = no lag, correlation of first differences; LD = Lag, correlation of first differences.

[d] Correlation not significant at the 99 percent level.

Unemployment insurance claims data were not available for the first quarter of 1970 through the first quarter of 1971. It is not known what the effect of this missing data might have had on the results. At any rate, want ads failed in any significant way to precede claims and thus to serve as an early warning system on occupational trends (Table 4-6).

As a proxy for unemployment by occupation, unemployment insurance claims may be an inverse indication of level of job vacancies. To the extent that this is true, help wanted ads reflect job vacancies for some occupational groups.

d. *Average weekly hours:* The correlation between average weekly hours and help wanted ads in manufacturing was significant in San Francisco (average hours in manufacturing is the only measurement available in San Francisco). In Salt Lake City, only average hours in mining showed a significant degree of correlation with help wanted ads. The absence of a common industrial pattern of the correlations between want ads and average weekly hours by industry led the research staff to discount their usefulness as economic indicators.

Table 4-6

Correlation Coefficients for Selected Want Ad Variables and Unemployment Insurance Claims by Occupation[a]

(San Francisco and its SMSA)

Claims Variables in Want Ads	r	City Set[b]	r	SMSA Set[b]
Clerical	—0.7675[c]	LR	—0.7365[c]	LR
Sales	—0.6055	LR	—0.6164	LR
Service occupations	—0.7660[c]	CR	—0.7036	CR
Blue Collar	—d		—0.7895[c]	CR
TOTAL	—d		—0,6756	CR
			—0.6550	LR

[a] Significant at the 99 percent level for the city of San Francisco and its SMSA.

[b] LR = lag, correlation of levels; CR = no lag, correlation of levels.

[c] Significant at the 99.9 percent level.

[d] Correlation not significant at the 99 percent level.

5

Composition of a Metropolitan Newspaper Want Ad Section

The very size and girth of the Sunday want ad section of major metropolitan newspapers tend to overwhelm and may be misleading. Manpower planners and economists, as well as unsuspecting job seekers, could easily assume that each ad in these columns represents a different employer advertising a different job located in the local labor market, and that all of the jobs are new in each Sunday edition. When the contents of a few editions of a metropolitan Sunday paper ad section were actually analyzed, however, it became clear that only a fraction of that voluminous space was occupied by local job opportunities advertised by different local employers.

Almost a third of the space in the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* Sunday section was taken by "bordered" or national advertising, the bulk of which was for highly technical, out-of-area jobs. Another third of the space was occupied by private employment agencies – essentially an industry advertising itself. The jobs listed by these agencies may or may not have been in the local market and may or may not have been duplicated by other agencies and employers. A metropolitan paper with a policy that permits private agencies to intersperse their ads among employer-placed ads created a different set of problems. The job seeker, looking for a local job and not wishing to go through a third-party broker, had to sift through these columns in order to distinguish not only local from out-of-area jobs but also the employer from the broker. This left only a small portion of those want ad pages to local employer-placed jobs.

This small portion of employer-placed ads did not represent a cross-section of the local job market. It can be further dissected as follows:

(1) A heavy proportion of the ads were placed by large employers concentrated in selected industries. It is possible that as much as 40 percent of the ads in this portion of the want ad section could be placed by a small group of such high "user" firms.

(2) Job openings from a few occupational groups took up more than proportional space. The utility of the want ad section was correspondingly limited for those persons seeking work in fields other than the specific occupations advertised.

(3) Only slightly more than half of that portion of the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* devoted to employer-placed ads described jobs located within the city. Including that portion devoted to jobs outside the city, 77 percent of employer-placed job titles in the *Chronicle-Examiner* were for jobs known to be located within the SMSA. The corresponding figures for Salt Lake City were 64 percent of employer-placed ads known to be within the city and 85 percent within the SMSA. Thus the job seeker who is fairly mobile would be that much better served by the want ads than one who is not.

These findings are based on intensive analysis of newspapers in two cities. However we are currently engaged in another study involving newspapers in twelve metropolitan areas, seeking to assess want ads as a source of local labor market information as described in chapter 4. Although the current study is not yet complete, its data on the composition of the metropolitan newspapers studied place into broader perspective the two-city study's findings.

As stated in chapter 4, the two-city study found in the want ads no significant local trend information not otherwise obtainable through the various employment and unemployment indices produced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the various state entities using Bureau methodology, however incomplete this official data may be. This is an area of particular interest to economists and manpower planners. However, the question that still remains unaddressed and unknown is how the help wanted ads of local newspapers compare to the flow of jobs placed by employers in the local employment service offices – the only other public source of job vacancy information. Does the employment service get a smaller or larger share of job vacancy information than the want ads? In what ways are the jobs that are listed in the two mechanisms similar or different as to occupational and industrial makeup? To what extent do the same jobs appear in both mechanisms? Do such jobs appear for a longer period of time in the employment service than in the newspaper?

Answers to these questions are of special interest not only to economists but also to employment service operators, particularly the "contact" staff that deals with the job seeking public and to manpower planners associated with the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act who are searching for occupational information about the local labor market. In the course of delving into these questions, the twelve-city study has produced some interesting information about the composition of nineteen newspapers' want ad sections in the twelve areas studied.

In the new study, comparisons are being made between the employment service and newspaper want ads over a twelve-month period, in twelve labor market areas, by occupation and industry. In addition to comparing the "stock" of open orders available in the employment service with those available in the want ads at twelve points in time, we will also compare the flow of *new* jobs through both mechanisms for a test period during the study year. This analysis of the flow of jobs through the two mechanisms will reveal any tendency for the same jobs to appear continuously in either mechanism over a long period of time, thus inflating periodic counts of "open" jobs assumed to be "new" jobs as well. A study of the extent to which the same employers use both mechanisms for the same or different jobs has yet to be made.

The twelve areas studied, which range in population from a hundred thousand to a million, include: Boise, Idaho; Portland, Maine; Santa Rosa, California; Jackson, Mississippi; Dayton, Ohio; Syracuse, New York; Des Moines, Iowa; Wichita, Kansas; Richmond, Virginia; New Orleans, Louisiana; San Diego, California; and Atlanta, Georgia.

Overlap between the twelve-city study and the two-city study is limited, but common and comparable data are available to illuminate responses to the queries in this chapter.

1. What types of "help wanted" opportunities does a metropolitan Sunday edition present and what proportion of the want ad section is devoted to ads for jobs placed by local employers?

As noted earlier in this chapter but quantified only in terms of space, the many columns of a metropolitan Sunday edition want ad section contain a wide diversity of material. The twelve-city study's analysis of the structure of the help wanted sections of twelve different editions of nineteen metropolitan newspapers further quantifies our picture of a want ad section. In addition to local employer ads, another eight categories of ads were identified which were common to the ad sections of the newspapers studied. Besides those for local jobs, categories of employer-placed ads include (1) those which state that the work is outside the metropolitan area, (2) those in which the employer offers no information about his identity or location except a box number for contact, and (3) those in which the only payment for work is in the form of lodging, a product, or other "in kind" arrangement. Intermediary-placed ads include those placed by (1) private agencies advertising permanent jobs or (2) agencies acting as labor contractors for temporary jobs. Ads for other kinds of "earnings" opportunities include ads for (1) other than employment (training, tools, and so on), (2) business opportunities, and (3) enlistment in the Armed Forces.

Although many of these categories by themselves constitute only a fraction of the ad section, as Figure 5.1 demonstrates, they inflate the number of jobs the ad section appears to represent and may distract the job seeker searching for local opportunities. Private agency advertising is clearly the largest single

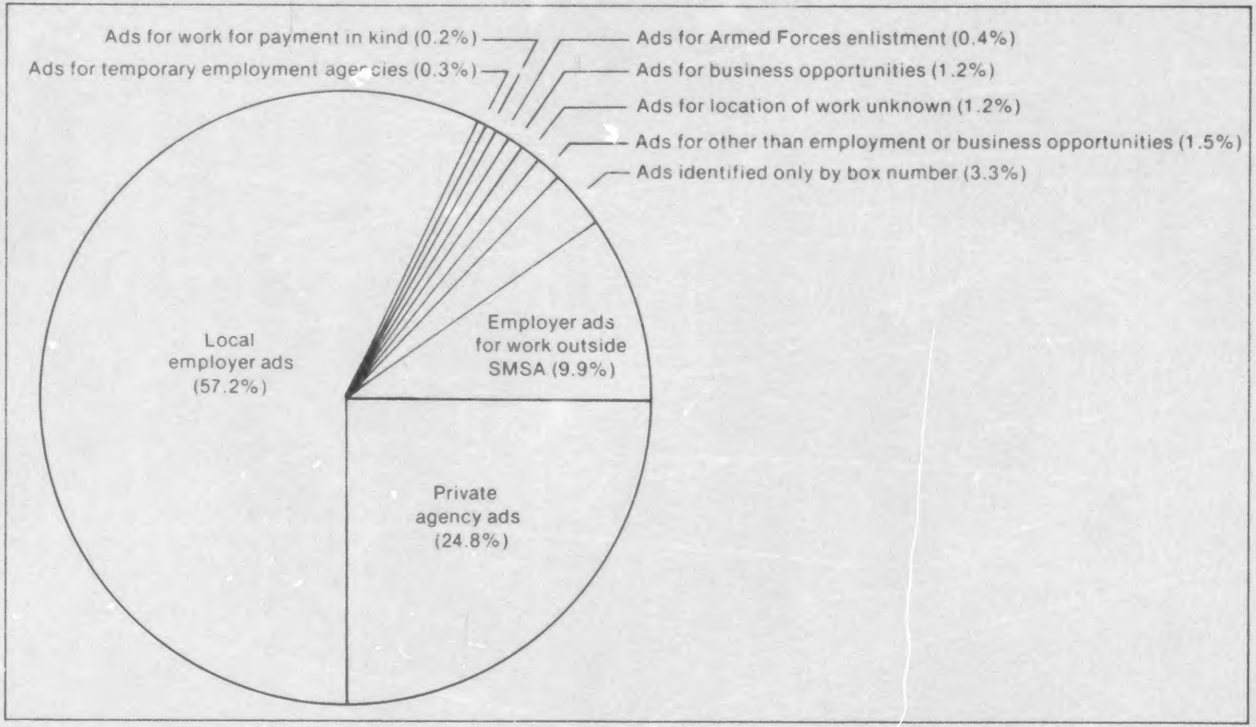

Figure 5.1. Want Ad Sections in Twelve Metropolitan Areas

distraction for such a job seeker, occupying an average of 24 percent of the ads in the section. When private agency ads are coupled with those for nonemployment earnings opportunities and ads for both out-of-area work and work with an obscured location, more than two-fifths of the want ad section becomes extraneous to the needs of a job seeker in search of local employer-placed opportunities.

Alternatively, the twelve-city study's findings indicate that only the barest majority of a want ad section is occupied by ads placed by employers for jobs within the SMSA.

2. How are ads within the want ad sections of the nineteen metropolitan area newspapers arranged, and how do their arrangements compare to those of the San Francisco and Salt Lake City papers?

As indicated in chapter 3, the arrangement of the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* aided job seekers in identifying (or eliminating) private agencies as they so desired, and in locating opportunities to suit their skills and experience. Its practice of listing all private agency ads in a separate section and requiring an initial occupational designation for each ad to ensure a useful alphabetical arrangement of ads were the sources of this assistance. On the other hand, the Salt Lake *Tribune*'s composition forced job seekers to read the entire ad section to find the opportunities appropriate for them. Its practice of interspersing private agency ads throughout the want ad columns served as a further distraction to the job seeker. Analysis of the twelve major and seven secondary newspapers associated with the twelve-city study set these two newspapers' column arrangements into better perspective.

Like the Salt Lake *Tribune*, all twelve major metropolitan newspapers studied interspersed agency ads with the employer-placed help wanted advertising they carried. Of these, only five papers carried a separate section for private agencies opting to appear separately. Of the seven secondary metropolitian area newspapers studied, three carried a separate agency classification, and two actually placed all agency advertising within it. Thus, as far as placement of private agency advertising is concrned, the Salt Lake City paper's practices seem more widely followed in 1975 than those of the San Francisco newspaper.

Another practice which aids job seekers in finding the kinds of job advertisements appropriate to their search is occupational subclassifications for help wanted ads. The San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* separates ads for "household workers" and "couples" from its general help wanted columns. The Salt Lake *Tribune* separates ads for sales opportunities from other help wanted ads. In comparison, nine of the twelve major newspapers studied had a separate classification for sales opportunities, and two of these papers had at least eight other occupational classifications. Likewise, four of the seven secondary newspapers studied had at least one occupational subclassification.

Surprisingly, two of the nineteen newspapers analyzed for the twelve-city study carried overt sex-designating headings as late as May 1975, a practice abandoned by the San Francisco and Salt Lake City newspapers in 1972. The continuance of such a practice, despite the June 1973 Supreme Court ruling declaring any sex-designating arrangements of the want ads illegal, is symptomatic of the reluctance of some newspaper publishers to act either as arbiters or agents of law enforcement. Nevertheless, there are differences in the degree to which newspapers take responsibility for the ads they carry; the notices published by the two newspapers with sex-designating headings might serve as examples. The notice in the first newspaper read:

> All ads are now merged into one class for male and female unless a bona fide occupational requirement is necessary for a particular job.

And in the second newspaper, the notice was stated:

> All persons or businesses placing ads under the help wanted classifications are required to designate the classification desired. If no classification is designated, the ad will appear in the male-female classification.

As might be expected, the second newspaper contains more ads under sex-designated headings than does the first newspaper, since the first newspaper requires the advertising employer to restrict such listings to jobs where a "bona fide occupational requirement" exists for sex designation.

The Salt Lake *Tribune* comes close to these two newspapers in practice. This newspaper abandoned sex-designating headings for its columns but continues the same column separations for placing traditional male and female job opportunities. Thus what had formerly been "Help Wanted – Female" was, in 1975, "Help Wanted – 100," still listing traditional female opportunities such as secretarial, nursing, and domestic jobs. The same applied to the column headed "Help Wanted – 150"; it still contained traditional male managerial and blue-collar opportunities. Ads placed by firms desiring to be known as equal opportunity employers were listed under what was formerly "Help Wanted, Male-Female," now "Help Wanted – 130." With such an arrangement, the Salt Lake City help wanted section could convey a silent message as to the sex preferences of the employer. An essential part of the successful delivery of this secret message was the absence of any explanatory notice.

Interviews conducted with the classified advertising managers of the twelve major newspapers and some of the secondary newspapers in the twelve-city study provided some important insights into the process producing the structural changes the help wanted sections have undergone.

Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the majority had dropped sex-designating headings in 1971 or 1972. For those which abandoned such headings later, it was the Supreme Court ruling on the Pittsburg *Press* case in June 1973 which provided the stimulus for this change, if not directly, then in the form of a notification of violation and threat of similar prosecution.

Some of the advertising managers noted that the abandonment of sex headings provided the private employment agencies with the stimulus they needed to insist on interspersal of their ads throughout the help wanted section in place of "discriminatory" isolation under their own heading. Demands from such a powerful block of users were, in most cases, acceded to.

Removal of the sex headings from the help wanted columns was protested strongly by some advertisers. Ad managers also received protests from the ad section's readers, who found the resulting hodgepodge hard to use. The transition to computerized typesetting of the classified ads provided many of these newspapers with an opportunity to arrange the ad section alphabetically with some ease. Subdivision of the section into occupational subclassifications was another means of reducing reader complaints in a manner compatible with computerization. Neither of these techniques necessarily requires order-taker intervention with the employer in placing his ad, as does starting the ad with an occupational title.

Although ads were alphabetically arranged in seven of the twelve major newspapers and two of the minor papers studied, the ads consistently began with the job title in only three of these major newspapers and one of the secondary ones. Changing ad format for reader convenience was the least employed of the techniques for ordering the help wanted section. Consequently the alphabetic arrangement of ads did not necessarily highlight significant reference information in some of these papers. The remaining newspapers either used occupational subclassifications to guide the reader to the appropriate area or presented an unordered arrangement which required the reader to scan the entire ad section to find the appropriate opportunity.

Thus the Salt Lake *Tribune* and San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* are unique in their ad arrangements. No other newspaper that was studied delivered such indirect but recognizable signals about sex preference as the Salt Lake *Tribune*. On the other hand, two newspapers studied used overt sex-designating headings. No other newspaper studied followed San Francisco's practice of both segregating private agency ads and arranging ads alphabetically by initial occupational title. On the other hand, a few newspapers placed heavier reliance upon occupational categories to organize the want ad section than either the *Tribune* or the *Chronicle-Examiner*.

3. How does the pattern of advertiser use of the nineteen newspapers studied compare with that found in the Salt Lake City and San Francisco newspapers?

Of the three major sources of revenue to the classified help wanted section, no separate count was made in the twelve-city study of national advertisers taking bordered ads. Consequently, the advertiser pattern reported below will highlight use by employers (local and bordered combined) and by private agencies. As can be seen in Table 5-1, private agencies over the

Table 5-1

Want Ad Advertisers by Type
(Percent distribution)

Study Reference	Ads Placed by Employers	Ads Placed by Private Employment Agency
Two-city study—San Francisco	77%	23%
Two-city study—Salt Lake City	86%	14%
Twelve-city study—all areas	75%	25%

nineteen newspapers studied took a larger average percentage of ads than they had in either the San Francisco or Salt Lake City newspaper. We relate this increase to the widespread tendency of the newspapers figuring in the twelve-city study to intersperse agency-placed ads among employer-placed ads in the help wanted section.

We used the pattern of agency share of help wanted ads in the sections studied in both research studies to test the alternative hypotheses that private agency ads tend to constitute a heavier share of the want ad section in metropolitan areas with one or more of the following preconditions:

(1) A relatively large number of private agencies

(2) A relatively large population

(3) A relatively large share of the area's employment in white-collar jobs

(4) A relatively large minority population

The application of stepwise multiple regression techniques found only the presence of large minority populations in the area, as a single variable, to be significantly associated with a heavy private agency share of the want ad section. A correlation coefficient of 0.711 was obtained for this relationship (see Figure 5.2). When all four factors – minority share of popula-

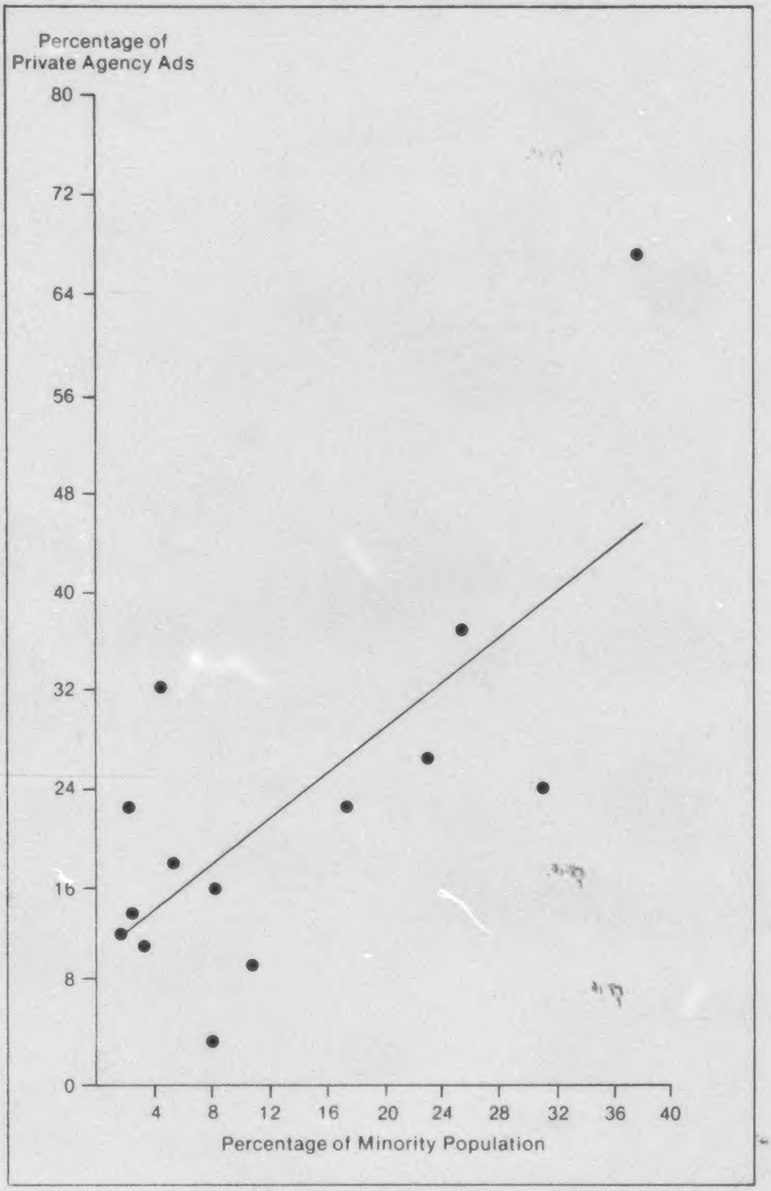

Figure 5.2. Percentage of Private Agency Ads as They Relate to Percentage of Minority Population

tion, white-collar share of employment, size of area population, and number of private agencies – were analyzed for their combined effect upon the share of want ads devoted to private agency ads, a multiple correlation coefficient of 0.783 was obtained. Thus the larger the metropolitan area's population, the more private agencies located there, the larger the white-collar share of employment and particularly the larger its minority share of population, the greater the share of the help wanted ads taken by the private agencies.

4. How did the locational distribution of ads placed in editions figuring in the twelve-city study compare to that of the Salt Lake City and San Francisco editions analyzed for the two-city study?

When the "stock" editions of the want ad sections in all areas in the twelve-city study were analyzed for location of the work advertised, the distribution of location was similar to those for the Salt Lake City and San Francisco editions. As Table 5-2 indicates, the vast majority of employer-placed ads were for job openings within the metropolitan area. However, the exact proportion of local area opportunities to the total placed by employers was impossible to determine because, in 5 to 7 percent of employer-placed ads, the location of the work was obscured.

An analysis of the locational data relationships in the two studies using linear correlation techniques failed to reveal any tendency for a larger percentage of employer-placed ads to represent opportunities within the SMSA in areas with greater population than in those with smaller population.

5. How did the occupational distribution of coded job titles in the twelve-city study compare with that of Salt Lake City and San Francisco editions analyzed for the two-city study?

As can be seen in Table 5-3, the occupational composition of job titles advertised in the editions analyzed for the twelve-city study generally lay between that of the Salt Lake editions and the San Francisco editions of the original two-city study. There are two exceptions. One was sales jobs, which constituted a smaller part of the editions in the twelve-city study than in either the Salt Lake City or San Francisco editions studied

Table 5-2

Location of Employer-Placed Opportunities Advertised in Want Ad Section
(Percent distribution)

Study Reference	Location Within SMSA	Location Outside SMSA	Location Unknown
Two-city study—San Francisco	78%	15%	7%
Two-city study—Salt Lake City	85%	10%	5%
Twelve-city study—all areas	79%	14%	6%

Table 5-3

Occupational Distribution of Job Titles Advertised
(Percent distribution)

Occupational Grouping	Findings in Two-City Study		All Areas in Twelve-City Study
	San Francisco	Salt Lake City	
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	18%	9%	12%
Managers, administrators	8	4	6
Clerical workers	25	13	19
Sales workers	24	24	16
Service workers, including domestic	13	27	23
Blue-collar workers	9	18	20
Agricultural workers	a	1	1
Unable to identify occupation	3	5	3
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

[a] Negligible.

earlier. This should be at least partially attributed to the fact that, to ensure comparable counts, commission-only sales ads were disqualified from coder analysis in cities where the employment service did not take job orders for such opportunities.

An analysis of individual city patterns in the twelve-city study demonstrates that, while San Francisco and Salt Lake City are both above the median in share of want ad opportunities devoted to sales, neither ranked as highest in sales opportunities share. As indicated below, newspapers in four of the areas figuring in the twelve-city study devoted an even greater share of titles advertised to sales: 25 to 30 percent, compared to the two cities' 24 percent. It was hypothesized that either area population size or sales share of SMSA employment might determine the share of want ad titles devoted to sales. However, the application of simple correlation techniques revealed no relationship between share of want ad titles devoted to sales and either of the other factors. Perhaps other factors, such as number of firms using a sales force on commission, would be more likely determinants.

The twelve-city study showed a higher percentage of want ad titles devoted to blue-collar jobs than occurred in either the San Francisco or Salt Lake City editions. An analysis of individual city patterns in the twelve-city study showed San Francisco editions to have an extremely low percentage of job titles devoted to blue-collar jobs (9 percent). Blue-collar job share of the want ads ranged from 12 to 34 percent in the city newspapers in the broader study. However, none of these cities has shown as strong a transition away from blue-collar employing activities during the past decade as San Francisco. In any case, blue-collar job title share was only moderately related to blue-collar share of SMSA employment. A correlation coefficient of 0.465 was obtained for the relationship between blue-collar share of want ads and blue-collar share of employment.

6. How did the industrial distribution of job titles in the twelve-city study compare with that reported for Salt Lake City and San Francisco?

The industrial distribution of jobs in the want ad sections analyzed for the twelve-city study resembles those of the Salt Lake City and San Francisco newspaper editions studied in

Table 5-4

Industrial Distribution of Job Titles Advertised
(Percent distribution)

Industrial Grouping	Findings in Two-City Study		All Areas in Twelve-City Study
	San Francisco	Salt Lake City	
Mining	a	a	a
Contract construction	1%	1%	2%
Manufacturing	8	8	10
Transportation, communications, and utilities	3	2	2
Wholesale trade	2	2	2
Retail trade	12	24	20
Finance, insurance, and real estate	13	7	8
Services	27	25	29
Government	2	3	2
Other	a	a	1
Unable to identify	32	27	26
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

[a] Negligible.

many respects. However, as Table 5-4 indicates, identification of industrial activity was possible for a slightly larger proportion of the ads for the twelve-city than for the two-city study. This improved performance should be at least partially attributed to a better array of industry-oriented tools available to the coders and to the assistance of the employment service in determining industrial activity of those local advertisers identifying themselves only by name. Whether advertisers in these editions also provided more information about their industrial activity is not known. Both manufacturing and services took up a larger proportion of the job titles advertised in the "stock" editions in this study than in the editions in either area of the two-city study. Whether this is due to a different distribution of advertisers in these editions or to notably better identification of manufacturing and service advertisers than before proved impossible to determine.

Table 5-5

Percent of Missing Information among Critical Ad Elements (By count of ads)

Study Reference	Industry of Advertiser	Occupation of Job	Location of Job
Two-city study—San Francisco	32%	3%	7%
Two-city study—Salt Lake City	27%	5%	5%
Twelve-city study—all areas	26%	3%	5%

7. How do ads analyzed for the twelve-city study compare to those figuring in the two-city study in terms of elements of missing information?

In terms of critical elements of missing information, the want ads in the "stock" editions analyzed for the twelve-city study differed from the pattern of the two-city study (Table 5-5) only in reduction of the size of the unknown industry elements discussed earlier. Otherwise, the Salt Lake City and San Francisco editions figuring in the two-city study were not atypical in percentage of critical ad information elements lacking.

In summary, the twelve-city study validates many aspects of the composition of the two metropolitan newspapers figuring in the two-city study: The large fraction of ads in an edition taken by private agency users; the locational, occupational, and industrial distributions of employer-placed advertising; and the proportion of critical information elements missing in these two newspapers were largely representative of the 21 newspapers overall. Only in arrangement of the columns do the Salt Lake City and San Francisco newspapers appear to be unusual. No other paper studied both segregated all private agency ads and required an initial occupational ad designation for meaningful alphabetic arrangement as did the *Chronicle-Examiner*. No other newspaper studied conveyed the same silent message as the Salt Lake City newspaper through its retention of the sex-designated columns minus their previous headings.

6

Implications of the Want Ad Study

The major findings of this study of want ads in Salt Lake City and San Francisco newspapers, supported by the later study of 19 newspapers, can be synthesized as follows:

(1) It is possible to analyze help wanted ads systematically and to assess their content and value to employers and job seekers, although the process may be time consuming and costly. Testing the feasibility of doing so was the primary objective of the two-city study. As the initial effort to go behind the want ads and analyze their content and behavior over an extended period of time, the study undertook a number of investigations which were limited in geographic scope, and occasionally in methodology, by budgetary constraints. With the feasibility of research on want ads demonstrated, the way is now clear for research of greater scope, part of which has already begun. Some may object to publication of a study of only two cities and newspapers out of hundreds. Nevertheless, the validity of the findings was given further support by the partially overlapping twelve-city study. The almost total lack of any research to test want ads and their meaning in labor market terms seems to justify publication of what must be recognized as preliminary research.

(2) Although the use of want ads by employers varied between the two labor markets, less than 60 percent in

either area had tried them. We hypothesize that use of want ads may be *inversely* related to prevalence of alternative job matching mechanisms in the local labor market. However, because of a lack of resources, non-user firms could not be surveyed as to their reasons for not using want ads. Thus this is an area open for further research.

(3) Want ads in the two cities were highly successful in matching an applicant to the job opening for a relatively small but important group of employers, consisting primarily of large firms in selected industries. For such employers, help wanted ads were used mainly to recruit workers in selected occupations to fill immediate vacancies.

(4) Want ads were used extensively by unemployed job seekers surveyed in employment service offices in the two cities with a *considerable degree of successful matches*. Nevertheless, a potentially effective, convenient, and valuable job matching tool for the job seeker fell short of the potential. The nature of the organization of the ads and language used was misleading and even discriminated against certain segments of the public.

(5) Because of the duplication of job listings between private agency and employer ads and the underrepresentation of blue-collar jobs, even in local employer ads, the want ad sections of the two newspapers in San Francisco and Salt Lake City presented a distorted picture of a local job market. Information provided about the job titles advertised by itself was insufficient as a base for manpower planning decisions. The study found no evidence that want ads provide information which is as reliable an indicator of economic trends as other information available through established sources of local labor market data. However, since these "trend-indicating" investigations were hampered by methodological problems, this is an area worthy of further probing.

Thus our findings appear to challenge some of the more commonly held assumptions about help wanted ads and succeed in raising further questions.

Employer recruitment techniques and job search methods have been the subject of recent studies conducted by a number of different organizations. All of them have further validated the accessibility of the want ads for job seekers, their power to maximize public exposure of employer openings, and their importance as a job matching mechanism. For a sample of employers surveyed by Camil Associates in 1974, the want ads were the second most important recruitment technique, both in frequency of use and in success.[1] Of the job seekers surveyed for that study, 48 percent said that they used the want ads, 18 percent of the survey population using them with success. Those job seekers used want ads more frequently and with greater success than any other method, except for informal tips from friends and relatives and direct application to employers.[2] The 1975 survey of job finding methods conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics affirmed these findings: Want ads *are* the most frequently used and most successful of the formal search techniques available.[3]

A January 1975 survey of the state's employers by the California Employment Development Department, which drew ten thousand responses, found want ads to be the source of 23 percent of employees hired out of all sources, informal and formal, during the preceding twelve-month period.[4]

Plainly, the help wanted columns are a mechanism, an institution, whose social role transcends the private commercial concerns of either newspapers or a small group of advertisers. In a sense, the newspapers and their high-volume advertisers are hidden pilots guiding the course of the job market matching mechanism having the greatest public visibility of all. Those active in the job market – job seekers and employers – depend unknowingly upon these pilots to guide that mechanism upon which their own individual match depends. Taken en masse, this reliance gives the institution its economic impact. The speed with which workers become employed and jobs are filled ultimately affects unemployment rates. The strengths and the weaknesses of a job-to-person matching mechanism as important as want ads are the proper concern of those responsible for the use of human resources in the same way that private activities which affect the nation's natural resources are a public concern. The 1974–75 recession points up the importance of perfecting these mechanisms and increasing their efficiency.

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[1] Camil Associates, "A Survey of the Attitudes, Perceptions, and Expectations of Users and Non-users of the Employment Service," draft report, 1975, p. 4-2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5-2.

[3] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 5.

[4] California Employment Development Department, "Release of Employment Questionnaire Analysis," May 20, 1975. Unpublished.

The careful analyses of the content and structure of the want ads and of their use by employers and job seekers made in our studies have revealed not only the value of want ads but also the weaknesses and inadequacies of the ads as they are now handled. Practices producing these flaws prevent the ads from operating at their full potential and create undue obstacles not only for the job seeker and employer but also for the manpower planner and employment service operator who search constantly for ways to monitor and measure the dimensions of the local labor market. Weaknesses in the want ads are inadequate information about job titles advertised, less than scrupulous concern with identifying and separating advertising for job openings from ads for other types of "earning" opportunities, haphazard organization of want ad columns and ad script, and disregard for established, legislated public policy as it regards discriminatory advertising practices. The same weaknesses in varying degrees were found in all 21 newspapers which came under our scrutiny and analysis.

The list of proposed courses of action which follows constitutes a set of standards for the content and composition of the want ad section which, if adopted, would increase its utility to job seekers and labor market analysts:

(1) Help wanted ads placed by employers should provide, if not the names of the employers, at least a description of the firms, their activities, wage ranges or methods of

payments (such as commissions only), accurate job titles that reflect job duties, and job locations.

(2) Newspaper personnel who take ads on the telephone should be trained (as employment service staffs are) to elicit relevant information from employers, as well as to apply proper occupational titles.

(3) The help wanted columns should be reserved for genuine jobs. All ads for business and training opportunities, army recruitment, obscured work activities (usually sale of products), pyramid selling, and perhaps "commission only" sales jobs should be given specific designations and be listed separately.

(4) All jobs listed by private employment agencies should be listed separately from employer-placed ads.

(5) Consideration should be given to separation of jobs by geographic location and occupational category.

(6) Jobs should be listed alphabetically by occupational title.

(7) A key to abbreviations commonly used in want ads should be included in each help wanted section published. (To preserve advertising space, consideration might be given to devising a coding system, with an appropriate legend for job seekers, so that all pertinent information regarding jobs could be incorporated into ads within a minimum space if necessary.)

(8) Just as they have already done with regard to racial references, newspapers should adopt a policy which prohibits violation of the spirit as well as the letter of equal opportunity legislation with regard to sex-designating ads.

To institute such changes would require that the classified ad departments of newspapers come to regard themselves as instruments of public service as well as commercial, profit-making enterprises. It would require that standards be established and that a self-policing process be widely accepted.

Unfortunately, there is little indication that classified advertising departments are ready to make any changes of their own volition in response to social need. This judgment is arrived at by examining the history of self-policing guidelines, newspaper attitude and response to relevant laws, the weaknesses of legislation governing want ad advertising, and the absence of viable, coherent constituencies other than those with vested interests.

Similar improvements are already recommended in "Guidelines to Standards of Acceptance for Classified Advertising," prepared by the Association of Newspaper Classified Advertising Managers. The fact that these guidelines have not been followed indicates that the Association's publication, with its attempt at self-policing has been, till now, an ineffective instrument for change.

When the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* classified ad staff were asked about the guidelines, they were unable to locate a single copy in the office, and the staff members stated categorically that they did not consider the document binding in any way. The classified advertising manager of a major metropolitan newspaper responded to an inquiry about the study by writing: "The standards of acceptance vary considerably from paper to paper." This statement was supported in interviews conducted with newspaper classified advertising managers for the twelve-city study. When asked about the current policy of their newspapers regarding acceptance of ads designating race, sex, and age, these ad managers gave a variety of responses ranging from a flat refusal to accept such ads, to acceptance only if the advertiser insists, to acceptance coupled with a reminder to the advertisers that responsibility for the ad is theirs alone. Such diversity in practice indicates that the "Guidelines to Standards" document does not provide a viable, enforceable vehicle by which newspapers are successfully policing themselves.

Officials of the San Francisco newspaper(s) stated that it is their policy to abstain from the role of law enforcer where help wanted ads are concerned. They maintain the position that it is not their responsibility to determine whether an ad is or is not in keeping with laws regarding discrimination or any other factors. They do, however, offer an "award" for information leading to false advertising within any of their columns. When asked about racial discrimination in advertising, the newspaper officials stated that refusal of the paper to accept any ads with racial references (or overtones) is based on their *own* policies rather than on the existence of laws governing racial references. This desire to avoid the role of law enforcer was echoed by many of the classified advertising managers interviewed for the twelve-city study.

The vice president of the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc., in his critique of a draft copy of this study summarized this viewpoint very clearly[5]:

> With respect to the charge that the want ads discriminate against women, I believe that the real point is that employers still have clearly defined sex roles in mind when they place want ads. The report is critical of want ads for providing too little descriptive information about a job – but also critical when the ads are unable to conceal the sex preferences of employers. If an ad is classified "male-female," applicants are certainly free to request interviews. In the final analysis the employer himself must take the responsibility for overcoming his own hiring bias.

The June 21, 1973, U.S. Supreme Court ruling on Pittsburgh *Press* vs Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations, which upheld a Pittsburgh ordinance banning sex-designated newspaper want ad headings, placed both the help wanted ads and the arrangement of their section within the realm of commercial speech and thus subject to government regulation. In arguing that its order did not infringe upon the First Amendment rights of the Pittsburgh *Press*, the court said, "The present order does not endanger arguably protected speech. Because the order is based upon a continuing course of repetitive conduct, this is not a case in which the court is asked to speculate as to the effect of publication."

As help wanted ad sections are constituted at the present time, they closely resemble forms of advertising which fall under the jurisdiction of consumer legislation. Representatives of law enforcement agencies at all levels – Federal Trade Commission, California State Attorney General's office, California Labor Commissioner's office, San Francisco District Attorney's office, and U.S. Attorney General's office – when queried for this study, all agreed that want ads are indeed consumer items and therefore are covered by legislation protecting consumers from misleading advertising. However, the only consumer law dealing specifically with want ads in both California and Utah requires that private employment agencies have job orders on file for all jobs they advertise in the want ads. So much consumer legislation is of the "laundry list" type that want ads placed by employers appear to fall between the cracks.

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[5] Ray J. Greene, "Critique of Research Monograph," Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc., March 20, 1975, p. 8. Unpublished.

During the job seeker study, respondents often characterized ads as "lures" or "come ons," and a considerable number reported on ads which provided misleading information. Yet none gave the slightest indication of taking legal action. Because individual job seekers responding to what they regard as a misleading want ad have not in fact suffered a financial loss, they are far less apt to regard themselves as wronged and less apt to file a complaint. However, in the words of an official in the District Attorney's office:

> If a store advertised an item for sale that it didn't really have in order to draw customers, there would be no financial loss to the customer. Nevertheless, this is regarded as fraudulent advertising and the store would be liable. False advertising and misleading advertising about job openings are analogous.

The fact is that an individual complaint produces resolution only of grievances resulting from the appearance of one particular ad. It seldom results in changes of institutional practice or policy. Institutional changes are more likely to occur where there exists a viable, cohering constituency capable both of focusing public attention upon the change desired and of setting into motion a variety of legal and political strategies. The rise of women's rights groups and their actions to apply enforcement of Equal Opportunities Act provisions to the want ads is a case in point. The Supreme Court ruling against sex-designated want ad headings came about because the National Organization of Women compiled massive evidence of violations and took legal action. In San Francisco, one women's organization picketed the San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner* in protest of discriminatory language in its want ads. The mere existence of the Civil Rights Act, passed in 1964, did not ensure that law enforcement agencies would focus on ending discriminatory practices.

Moreover, the mere existence of "truth in advertising" legislation does not ensure against misleading or inadequate information in the want ad columns. The position taken by the newspapers that they cannot undertake the responsibilities inherent in law enforcement is rational and understandable. Nevertheless, by establishing their *own* policy of refusal to accept race-designating ads, the 21 newspapers studied succeeded in virtually wiping out the use of want ads to aid racial discrimination in hiring. But pressure to make this change existed in the form of a huge, coherent, and articulate constituency devoted to uprooting any manifestation of racial bias in employment or employment-related institutions.

There is no large constituency group which has a sustained interest in any of the mechanisms that operate in the general job market, be they want ads, private employment agencies, or the public employment service. Job seekers usually regard their unemployed status as temporary. Consequently, their focus upon the inadequacies of any of the job-to-worker matching mechanisms, including want ads, is maintained only so long as they are engaged in a search for work, their identification with such issues dissipating as soon as their status shifts from unemployed to employed. Similarly, most employers who use job-to-worker matching systems do so on a relatively infrequent basis and would have little reason to maintain their concern for the mechanism's operation, once their needs are fulfilled.

The only viable want ad user constituency demonstrating sustained interest, group coherency, articulation, and power are the private employment agencies. Recent efforts on the part of private agency associations have been to gain the right to intersperse their ads with employer-placed advertising, which apparently serves their needs but reduces the sensitivity of the want ad section as a labor market monitoring device. Judging from job seeker survey responses in Salt Lake City, this practice also decreases want ad section utility for job seekers. Neither the private employment agencies nor the heavy want ad users among employers would be likely to derive benefits from the changes proposed earlier in this chapter.

Recent experience in the fields of law and public accounting indicates that the adherence to association self-policing efforts is stricter where the members' practices are under legal scrutiny. The newspaper help wanted ads are not likely to be subjected to any such scrutiny because (1) governing legislation requires that enforcement actions be based on complaints, and (2) there is no viable user constituency to whom requirements for fuller and clearer information are of value. Because of this void, the widespread improvements in presentation of newspaper help wanted ads which would result from self-policing efforts on the part of the newspapers cannot be realistically anticipated.

The newspapers, understandably, find their interest to be consistent with those of the employers and agencies which pay for the ads. As stated by the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc.[6]:

> The Newspaper Advertising Bureau has undertaken this critique because the newspaper industry has a substantial business interest in the second of these objectives [whether want ads are of significant use to employers and job seekers]. Help wanted advertising contributes revenues to daily newspapers which may be in excess of $500 million per year. These revenues can be sustained only if the users of help wanted classified advertising are confident that it is making a significant contribution to their needs. The newspaper industry has strong motivation to protect the reputation of such advertising from needless degeneration.

In conclusion, it can be said that want ads offer a potentially invaluable public service. However, the entities who constitute that "public" and whose interests now dominate the want ad columns are the newspaper themselves, a small number of large firms, private employment agencies, and national advertisers. For the focus to shift toward the needs and convenience of job seekers, local employers and manpower planners would require considerable change. The prospects for such change at present are dim. Nevertheless, it is well to note that the newspapers are not powerless; by adopting policies responsive to social needs, they have in the past demonstrated their potency as an agent for social change. They could, if they chose, do so again.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Appendix

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Table A-1

Number of Job Titles by Year and Location of Job, San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner*

	City of San Francisco	SMSA outside San Francisco	Outside SMSA	Unknown	Total	Percentage of Known in City plus SMSA
Year/Percentage	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	
1968	1,542	680	435	199	2,856	83.6%
1969	1,776	882	432	202	3,292	86.0
1970	1,347	634	291	179	2,451	87.2
1971	1,169	641	323	204	2,337	84.9
1972	1,432	802	583	260	3,068	79.2
TOTAL	7,257	3,639	2,064	1,044	14,004	
Percentage of total in each location	51.8%	26.0%	14.7%	7.5%	100%	77.8%
Percentage of known in each location	56.0%	28.1%	15.9%		100%	84.1%

Table A-2

Number of Job Titles by Year and Location of Job, Salt Lake *Tribune*

	Salt Lake City	SMSA outside City	Outside SMSA	Unknown	Total	Percentage of Known in City plus SMSA
Year/Percentage	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	Number/Percent	
1968	751	277	179	65	1,272	85.2%
1969	909	232	127	62	1,330	90.0
1970	777	185	102	43	1,107	90.4
1971	730	262	91	56	1,139	91.6
1972	1,097	467	149	118	1,831	91.3
TOTAL	4,264	1,423	648	344	6,679	
Percentage of total in each location	63.9%	21.2%	9.7%	5.2%	100%	
Percentage of known in each location	67.3%	22.5%	10.2%		100%	89.8%

Table A-3

Number of Job Titles by Occupation and by Location, San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner*

Occupational Group	City of San Francisco	SMSA, but outside City	Total	Percent of Distribution within City	Percent Distribution of Total
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1,114	843	1,987	15.8%	18.3%
Managers and administrators, except farm	558	351	909	7.7	8.3
Sales workers	1,442	1,128	2,570	19.9	23.6
Clerical and kindred workers	2,344	392	2,736	32.3	25.1
Crafts workers, supervisors, and kindred workers	337	316	653	4.6	6.0
Operatives and laborers, except farm	228	94	322	3.1	3.0
Service workers, including domestics	976	410	1,386	13.5	12.7
Agricultural workers	9	20	29	0.1	0.2
Unable to identify occupation	219	85	304	3.0	2.8
TOTALS	7,257	3,639	10,896	100.0%	100.0%
Located outside SMSA			2,064		
TOTAL			12,960		

Table A-4

Number of Job Titles by Occupation and by Location, Salt Lake *Tribune*

Occupational Group	Salt Lake City	SMSA, but outside City	Total	Percent Distribution within City	Percent Distribution of Total
Professional, technical and kindred workers	391	93	484	9.2%	8.5%
Managers and Administrators, except farm	183	68	251	4.3	4.4
Sales workers	1,020	359	1,379	23.9	24.3
Clerical and kindred workers	613	100	713	14.4	12.5
Crafts workers, supervisors, and kindred workers	493	211	704	11.6	12.4
Operatives and laborers, except farm	241	75	316	5.6	5.6
Service workers including domestics	1,107	431	1,538	26.0	27.0
Agricultural workers	23	10	33	0.5	0.6
Unable to identify occupation	193	76	269	4.5	4.7
TOTALS	4,264	1,423	5,687	100.0%	100.0%
Located outside SMSA			648		
TOTAL			6,335		

Table A-5

Number of Job Titles by Industry and by Location, San Francisco *Chronicle-Examiner*

Industry	City of San Francisco	SMSA, but outside City	Total	Percent Distribution Within City	Percent Distribution of Total
Mining	3		3		
Contract construction	26	29	55	0.4%	0.5%
Manufacturing	414	424	838	5.7	7.7
Transportation, communications, and utilities	194	153	347	2.7	3.2
Wholesale trade	141	82	223	1.9	2.1
Retail trade	854	406	1,260	11.8	11.6
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1,113	340	1,453	15.4	13.3
Services	2,093	835	2,928	28.9	26.9
Government	101	126	227	1.4	2.1
Other	40	6	46	0.5	0.4
Unable to identify	2,270	1,232	3,502	31.3	32.2
TOTALS	7,249	3,633	10,882	100.0%	100.0%
Job titles not counted by computer	1	2	3		
Located outside SMSA			2,064		
TOTAL	7,250	3,635	12,949		

Table A-6

Number of Job Titles by Industry and by Location,
Salt Lake *Tribune*

Industry	Salt Lake City	SMSA, but outside City	Total	Percent Distribution within City	Percent Distribution of Total
Mining	3	4	7	0.1%	0.1%
Contract construction	33	23	56	0.8	1.0
Manufacturing	344	111	455	8.1	8.0
Transportation, communications and utilities	74	14	88	1.5	1.6
Wholesale trade	93	45	138	2.2	2.4
Retail trade	989	375	1,364	23.2	24.0
Finance, insurance, and real estate	348	74	422	8.2	7.4
Services	1,079	342	1,421	25.4	25.1
Government	189	4	193	4.5	3.4
Other	16	5	21	0.4	0.4
Unable to identify	1,090	420	1,510	25.6	26.6
TOTALS	4,258	1,417	5,675	100.0%	100.0%
Job titles not counted by computer	6	6	12		
Located outside SMSA			648		
TOTAL	4,264	1,423	6,335		

Table A-7

Employer Universe in San Francisco, by Industry and Size

Industry	Number of Employees								Total Employers
	1-3	4-7	8-19	20-49	50-99	100-249	250-499	500 +	
Construction	390	165	181	106	37	21	5	5	900
Manufacturing	405	308	403	280	96	64	19	14	1,589
Transportation, communications, and utilities	193	113	130	91	44	34	13	12	630
Wholesale trade	856	550	567	307	99	49	6	6	2,440
Retail trade	2,185	1,093	824	351	110	37	7	13	4,620
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1,762	391	283	171	82	51	17	18	2,775
Service	3,926	1,370	1,053	490	180	102	21	22	7,164
Total employers	9,717	3,990	3,441	1,796	648	358	88	90	20,128

Source: County Business Patterns, 1972.

Table A-8

Employer Survey Sample in San Francisco, by Industry and Size

Industry	Number of Employees						Total Employers
	1-5	6-10	11-25	26-50	51-100	101 +	
Construction	14	14	14	14	14	14	84
Manufacturing	15	14	14	14	14	14	85
Transportation, communications, and utilities	14	14	14	14	14	14	84
Wholesale trade	15	15	15	14	14	14	87
Retail trade	15	15	15	14	14	14	87
Finance, insurance, and real estate	15	14	14	14	14	14	85
Service	15	15	15	15	14	14	88
Total employers	103	101	101	99	98	98	600

Table A-9
Employer Survey Respondents in San Francisco, by Industry and Size

	Number of Employees[a]									
Industry	1-3	4-7	8-19	20-49	50-99	100-249	250-499	500 +	Un- known	Total Employers
Construction	6	10	7	16	9	12	1	2	5	68
Manufacturing	5	9	11	15	9	5	2	4	3	63
Transportation, communications, and utilities	4	8	10	11	6	7	1	10	5	62
Wholesale trade	4	6	15	11	9	6	5	4	5	65
Retail trade	8	8	10	9	11	5	3	4	2	60
Finance, insurance, and real estate	6	7	11	7	11	14	1	6	4	67
Service	8	5	9	17	15	8	2	6	2	72
Total employers	41	53	73	86	70	57	15	36	26	457

[a] Regrouped by County Business Patterns categories based on employer response to size of firm question.

Table A-10

Employer Universe in Salt Lake City, by Industry and Size

Industry	Number of Employees								Total Employers
	1-3	4-7	8-19	20-49	50-99	100-249	250-499	500 +	
Mining	33	14	13	5	3	2	1	3	74
Construction	468	224	176	71	18	9	2		968
Manufacturing	133	105	150	120	46	40	13	7	614
Transportation, communications, and utilities	77	46	59	34	13	10	6	4	249
Wholesale trade	349	225	276	155	26	13	4		1,048
Retail trade	724	519	419	192	61	22	7	6	1,950
Finance, insurance, and real estate	605	191	118	62	23	9	5	2	1,015
Service	1,582	569	394	174	58	27	2	4	2,810
Total employers	3,971	1,893	1,605	813	248	132	40	26	8,728

Table A-11
Employer Survey Sample in Salt Lake City, by Industry and Size

Industry	Number of Employees						Total Employers
	1-3	4-7	8-19	20-49	50-99	100 +	
Mining	6	6	6	6	3	2	29
Construction	8	6	6	6	5	6	37
Manufacturing	6	6	5	5	6	5	33
Transportation, communications, and utilities	5	6	5	6	6	6	34
Wholesale trade	5	5	8	6	6	5	35
Retail trade	8	8	8	5	4	6	39
Finance, insurance, and real estate	8	5	5	6	6	7	37
Service	8	8	8	6	6	5	41
Total employers	54	50	51	46	42	42	285

Table A-12
Employer Survey Respondents in Salt Lake City, by Industry and Size

Industry	Number of Employees								Un-known	Total Employers
	1-3	4-7	8-19	20-49	50-99	100-249	250-499	500 +		
Mining	2	4	5	4	2	1		2		20
Construction	4	6	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	21
Manufacturing	3	8	2	4	3	3	1	2	2	28
Transportation, communications, and utilities	5	2	3	4	3	4	1	1		23
Wholesale trade	2	6	5	6	4	2	1	1	1	28
Retail trade	5	6	6	3	6	1	2	1		30
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1	6	6	12	4	2	1	2	1	35
Service	6	11	5	5	5	4	—	—	1	37
Total employers	28	49	35	40	28	19	7	10	6	222

Table A-13
User Survey Sample

Industry, Size of Firm, and Occupational Group	Combined Cities		San Francisco		Salt Lake City	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All users	869	100%	575	100%	294	100%
By industry:						
Mining	3	a	1	a	2	1
Contract construction	11	1	7	1	4	1
Manufacturing	116	13	74	13	42	14
Transportation	54	6	45	8	9	3
Wholesale trade	55	6	30	5	25	9
Retail trade	188	22	90	16	98	33
Finance, insurance, and real estate	112	13	87	15	25	9
Service	219	25	151	26	68	23
Government	32	4	31	5	1	a
Unknown	79	9	59	10	20	7
By size of firm:						
One to three	63	7	31	5	32	11
Four to seven	59	7	29	5	30	10
Eight to nineteen	131	15	82	14	49	17
Twenty to 49	142	16	89	15	53	18
Fifty to 99	121	14	82	14	39	13
100 to 249	92	11	73	13	19	6
250 to 499	50	6	37	6	13	4
500 plus	77	9	62	11	15	5
Unknown	134	15	90	16	44	15
By occupational group:						
Professional	158	18	137	24	21	7
Managerial or administrative	62	7	47	8	15	5
Clerical	177	20	141	25	36	12
Sales	183	21	125	22	58	20
Service	129	15	47	8	82	28
Blue collar—skilled	93	11	49	9	44	15
Blue collar—other	53	6	20	3	33	11
Agriculture	2	a			2	1
Unknown	12	1%	9	2%	3	1%

[a] Less than ½ of 1%.

Table A-14

User Survey Respondents

Industry, Size of Firm, and Occupational Group	Combined Cities		San Francisco		Salt Lake City	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All users	629	100%	411	100%	218	100%
By industry:						
Mining	1	a	1	a		
Contract construction	9	1	5	1	4	2
Manufacturing	93	15	54	13	39	18
Transportation	17	3	10	2	7	3
Wholesale trade	42	7	23	6	19	9
Retail trade	117	19	45	11	72	33
Finance, insurance, and real estate	91	14	74	18	17	8
Service	170	27	117	28	53	24
Government	27	4	26	6	1	a
Unknown	62	10	56	14	6	3
By size of firm:						
One to three	36	6	17	4	19	9
Four to seven	50	8	23	6	27	12
Eight to nineteen	105	17	67	16	38	17
Twenty to 49	119	19	76	18	43	20
Fifty to 99	95	15	61	15	34	16
100 to 249	72	11	58	14	14	6
250 to 299	42	7	30	7	12	6
500 plus	65	10	51	12	14	6
Unknown	45	7	28	7	17	8
By occupational group:						
Professional	132	21	114	28	18	8
Managerial or administrative	46	7	34	8	12	6
Clerical	134	21	104	25	30	14
Sales	127	20	84	20	43	20
Service	77	12	29	7	48	22
Blue collar—skilled	67	11	32	8	35	16
Blue collar—other	37	6	9	2	28	13
Agriculture	1	a			1	a
Unknown	8	1%	5	1%	3	1%

[a] Less the ½ of 1%.

Table A-15

Personal Characteristics of San Francisco Job Seeker Sample and Employment Service Applicants (Percentage distribution)

Category	Job Seeker Sample		Employment Service Available Applicants[a]	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total number in sample	540		48,429	
Age:				
Total number responding	531	100.0%	48,429	100.0%
Under 22		13.6		10.6
22 to 39		58.9		63.4
40 to 44		7.6		6.9
45 to 54		10.9		11.3
55 to 64		7.6		5.8
65 +		1.5		2.0
Sex:				
Total number responding	540	100.0	48,429	100.0
Male		64.3		61.1
Female		35.7		38.9
Race:				
Total number responding	491	100.0	48,429	100.0
White		67.4		72.0
Black		14.3		15.6
Chicano		11.4		
Other nonwhite		6.9%		12.3
Spanish-surnamed				7.2%

[a] Total available applicants for San Francisco industrial and commercial offices, cumulative from July 1, 1972 through April 30, 1973. Source: ESARs.

Table A-16

Personal Characteristics of Salt Lake City Job Seeker Sample and Employment Service Applicants (Percentage distribution)

	Job Seeker Sample		Employment Service Available Applicants[a]	
Category	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total number in sample	306		54,496	
Age:				
Total number responding	306	100.0%	54,496	100.0%
Under 22		37.3		34.8
22 to 29		48.1		45.7
40 to 44		3.6		5.0
45 to 54		7.2		8.2
55 to 64		3.9		4.5
65 +				1.8
Sex:				
Total number responding	306	100.0	54,496	100.0
Male		68.6		61.4
Female		31.4		38.6
Race:				
Total number responding	293	100.0	54,496	100.0
White		94.2		95.0
Black		1.0		1.3
Chicano		2.0		
Other nonwhite		3.0%		3.7
Spanish-surnamed				7.4%

[a] Total available applicants for the Salt Lake City office, cumulative from April 1, 1972 through April 30, 1973. Source: ESARs.

Table A-17

Profile of Respondents to Job Seeker Interview Questions, by City

Category	San Francisco		Salt Lake City	
	Total Responses	Percentage Distribution	Total Responses	Percentage Distribution
Age:	64	100.0%	34	100.0%
Under 25		25.0		38.2
25 and over		75.0		61.8
Sex:	64	100.0	34	100.0
Male		65.6		79.4
Female		34.4		20.6
Race:	58	100.0	34	100.0
White		86.2		91.2
Nonwhite		13.8		8.8
Occupations sought:	58	100.0	31	100.0
Professional		27.6		19.4
Managerial or administrative		10.3		12.9
Clerical		15.5		19.4
Sales		13.8		6.5
Service		19.0		3.2
Blue collar—skilled		8.6		9.7
Blue collar—other		5.2		22.6
Anything				6.5
Length of job search:	61	100.0	34	100.0
Two months or less		63.9		88.2
Three months or more		36.1		11.8
Method of job search[a]:	62	100.0	32	100.0
Public employment service		93.5		87.5
Want ads[b]		100.0		100.0
Direct contact		72.6		71.9
Private agency		53.2		43.8
Union, association		25.8		6.3
Other		61.3		62.5
Prior to present job search, did you look for work in the past five years?	63	100.0	34	100.0
Yes		79.4		82.4
No		20.6		17.6

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[a] More than one response was possible.

[b] All participants in this sample had used want ads, for they were selected to describe incidents during want ad use.

Table A-17 (continued)

Category	San Francisco Total Responses	San Francisco Percentage Distribution	Salt Lake City Total Responses	Salt Lake City Percentage Distribution
Did you get a job through an ad?	62	100.0%	29	100.0%
Yes		45.2		48.3
No		54.8		51.7
Number and kind of jobs obtained through ads[c]:	38	100.0	53	100.0
Professional	7	18.4	9	17.0
Managerial, administrative, directorial				
Clerical	17	44.7	1	1.9
Sales	5	13.2	9	17.0
Service	6	15.8	4	7.5
Blue collar—skilled				
Blue collar—other	3	7.9%	29	54.7
Other			1	1.9%

[c] These figures represent a slight undercount. Respondents indicating an unknown number of jobs obtained are excluded.